Commentary

Volume Fifty-two, Number Three, September 1971

AUTHENTICITY & THE MODERN UNCONSCIOUS

LIONEL TRILLING

The Limits of Social Policy / Nathan Glazer

Building Jerusalem / Hillel Halkin

How Jewish Quotas Began / Stephen Steinberg

On Ford Madox Ford / Peter Shaw

Movies: Jules and Jack / William S. Pechter

BOOKS IN REVIEW

Robert Alter Arthur A. Cohen

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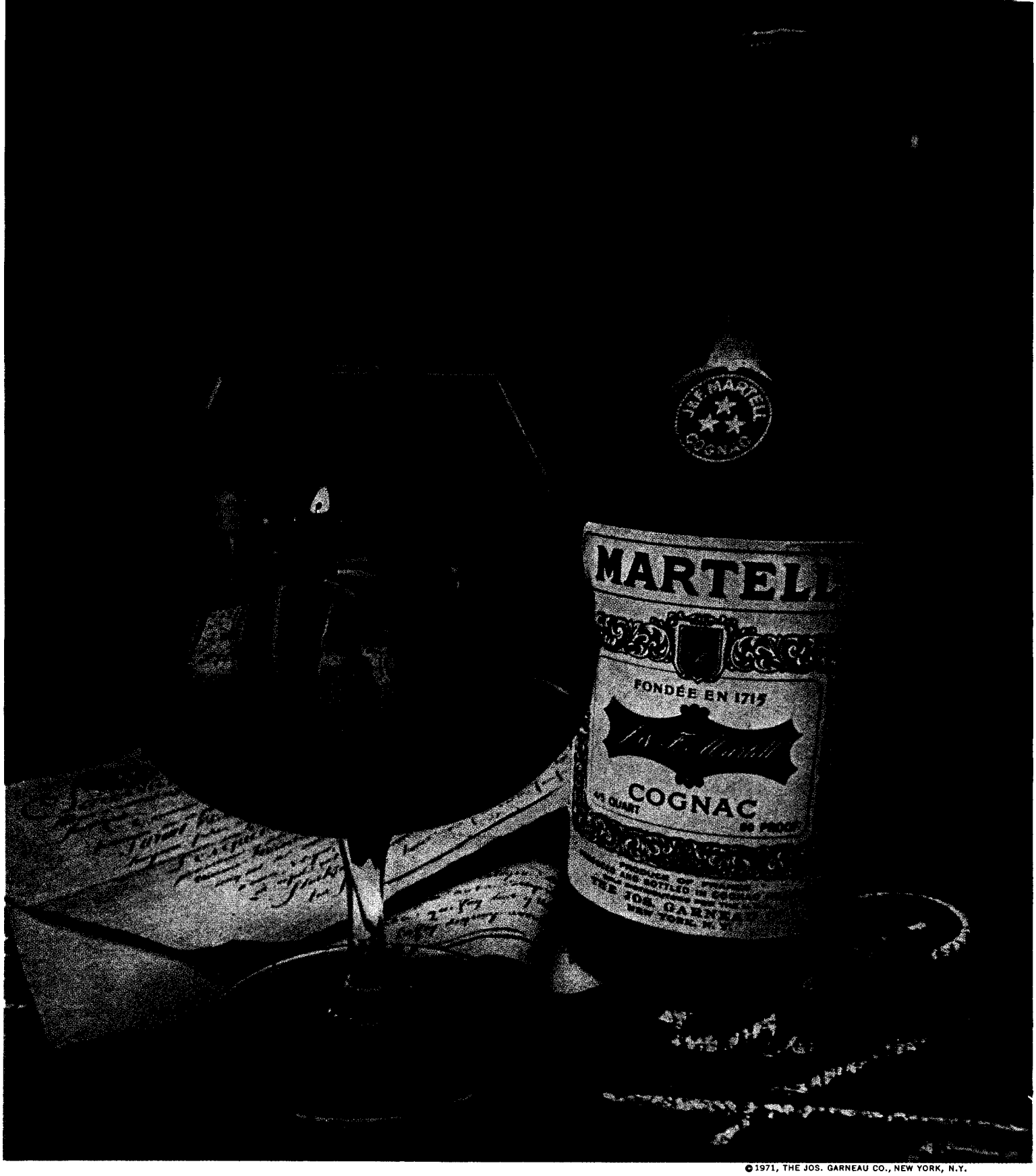

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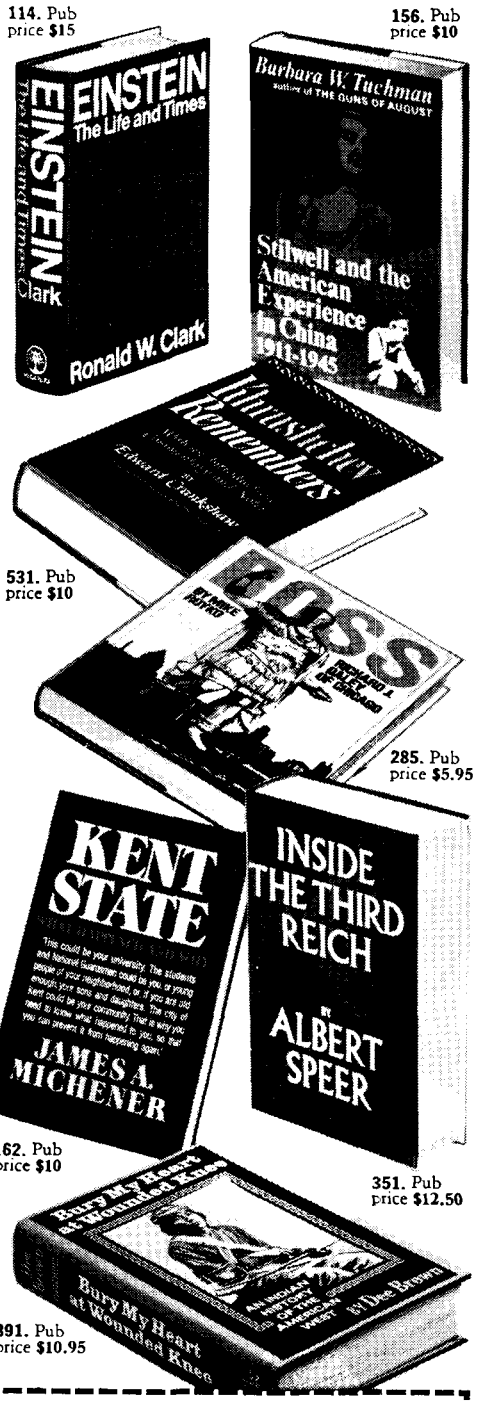

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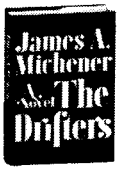

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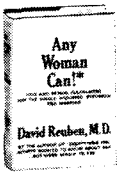

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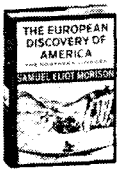

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Letters from Readers

The Workings of Military Justice

TO THE EDITOR OF COMMENTARY:

I found Joseph W. Bishop, Jr.'s review of Robert Sherrill's *Military Justice Is to Justice as Military Music Is to Music* [Books in Review, June] extremely interesting, especially since I am the psychiatrist he mentions, the one who had the exchange with Captain Carlotti. Mr. Bishop presents an alternate version to the one in Mr. Sherrill's book of how I came to call a defendant's mother a prostitute in open court, in the presence of the accused. Mr. Bishop has it that I volunteered this characterization on questioning by Terence Hallinan, counsel for the accused, while Mr. Sherrill states that I was forced to say what was apparent from the evidence and didn't require restatement and that the accused was unnecessarily dehumanized and publicly degraded.

Here is my recollection of my testimony:

In order to explain the inability of the accused to cope with the vicissitudes of military life I testified on the instability of his background; that he had lived in ten to twelve different places in the first fifteen years of his life; that he had never attended any school for a full term; that he had been "farmed out" without explanation to him for a full year; that he suffered from near murderous rage attacks and had been a chronic runaway since adolescence, and that his mother had married twelve different men in these first fifteen years.

In cross-examining me Captain Carlotti kept pressing the matter of the defendant's mother. I tried to put him off by referring to what I had said about instability, nomadism, etc., which I thought clarified the matter. I also made it clear that I was not trying to hide or distort anything but that I did not want to get more explicit about his mother in front of the defendant. Captain Carlotti insisted on pressing the point and I tried to answer euphemistically, saying the mother's marital pattern indicated a randomness or instability of choices. Captain Carlotti still would not be put off and insisted that I answer directly. The account in the San Francisco *Examiner*, May 22, 1969, under George McEvoy's by-line, confirms this sequence. . . . I have also checked my own memory with that of another observer who verified my account as well as that of Mr. McEvoy. It is conceivable to me that Mr. Carlotti has given Mr. Bishop an Army shorthand transcript of these events which garbles the history of what actually occurred.

The version in Mr. Bishop's review makes me out to be a rather insensitive psychiatrist, while my own memory, plus that of others, plus the rendering of the reporter, George McEvoy, places the onus for insensitivity squarely on the shoulders of the Army prosecutor, Captain Carlotti.

(DR.) KURT O. SCHLESINGER
San Francisco, California

TO THE EDITOR OF COMMENTARY:

Some may have noticed that Joseph W. Bishop, Jr.'s review of my book overflowed with unnatural passion. I had not written a book with which he merely disagreed; I had written a "bucket of bilge," a book of "indiscriminate and brainless" anti-militarism. Because Senator George McGovern said something favorable about the book, Mr. Bishop cuffed him as one "whose command of the duckspeak of the New Politics is hardly inferior to Mr. Sherrill's." And *all* the attorneys I quoted favorably were lumped together by Mr. Bishop as "neither very learned in law nor very careful of fact." Because I championed free speech for a lieutenant who carried a picket sign denouncing "facist agression," Mr. Bishop went out of his way to ridicule the officer as "semiliterate" and to brand me as a cheat simply because I corrected the spelling. That wasn't the end of it, but it was probably enough to make those who read the review wonder how my rather plain dissertation on military justice could bring so much froth to the lips of such a distinguished fellow as the "Richard Ely Professor of Law at Yale University Law School," as Mr. Bishop was identified.

Too bad . . . other portions of Mr. Bishop's career weren't mentioned: say, the 1940-42 period when he was Special Assistant to the Undersecretary of War, or the 1952-53 period when he was Deputy General Counsel and Acting

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General Counsel of the Department of the Army. Readers might also have enjoyed the irony of Mr. Bishop's cursing me as McCarthyistic if they had been informed that he served in the office of the Solicitor General of the Department of Justice from 1947 to 1950, when that department fed the government's "loyalty-security mania and the xenophobia of the day" (to use Yale professor Alexander Bickel's fine phrase) and helped open the way for the coming of McCarthy.

There is nothing wrong in using a reviewer with that background, but it is natural for such a person to take violent exception to the opinions expressed in my book. So why shouldn't COMMENTARY readers know the real reason for his attack?

That, however, isn't why I write. I do so only because Mr. Bishop has excused his malice with a richly irresponsible disregard for accuracy. . . . I only have half as much space as I need to clean up Mr. Bishop's temper tantrum, so I'll just touch the low points.

Mr. Bishop elaborately challenges my account of how Captain Stephen J. Carlotti, an Army prosecutor in one of the Presidio trials, "forced a psychiatrist to say on the witness stand, in front of the accused, what was quite apparent from the evidence and did not need to be said—that the boy's mother was a prostitute." By great good luck, writes Mr. Bishop, he happens to know Carlotti, one of his former students. He says Carlotti denies hounding the testimony out of the psychiatrist, and that the dirty work was actually done by the boy's own defense attorney, Terence Hallinan; he says "the statement seems to have been volunteered by the witness and not 'forced' by the questioner," and claims to have an Army trial transcript to prove it. So, concludes Mr. Bishop victoriously, although "like greater practitioners of his art, Mr. Sherrill is generally careful not to cite checkable sources for his assertions and accusations," nevertheless he, Mr. Bishop, has been clever enough to catch me.

Well, let's see. I will leave to Mr. Bishop the Army's transcript (not available to the public until after my book was published) and go instead to a more neutral source. Among the able and objective reporters covering the Presidio trials was George McEvoy. His account appeared on May 22, 1969, in the San Francisco *Examiner*, a conservative paper which hardly would slant the facts for rebellious GI's. It was, in part:

> The rest of the afternoon was enlivened by the testimony of Dr. Kurt Schlesinger, assistant chief psychiatrist at Mt. Zion Hospital in San Francisco. He testified on behalf of [the accused]. . . .
>
> Capt. Stephen Carlotti, assistant prosecutor, kept pressing the matter of [the accused's] mother. The psychiatrist said he did not like to testify in front of the defendant, but Carlotti persisted. "Well," said Schlesinger, "for want of a better word I'll use a euphemism—her conduct denotes randomness."
>
> Still Carlotti persisted, and finally Schlesinger said wearily: "All right, Captain. He may take a swing at me for this, but his mother, in my opinion, is a prostitute."
>
> The young soldier became visibly upset, began trembling and was on the verge of tears. Hallinan asked for a five-minute recess to calm his client, but Carlotti responded with: "I see no reason for a recess." The recess was granted.
>
> After court adjourned, Dr. Schlesinger was standing in the rear of the courtroom, talking to newsmen, when Carlotti came up and raged: "Doctor, if what you say is true, we shouldn't have courts. I don't think you psychiatrists should be allowed to testify."
>
> "Now, Captain," the small, slight psychiatrist replied softly, "you are a graduate of Yale. You know better than that." Carlotti glared and then stomped away.

Dr. Schlesinger, as indicated in his letter [see above], supports the accuracy of the *Examiner* article, and so does Hallinan, who is no more biased than Carlotti. A number of other regular observers at the trials with whom I double-checked have also verified the McEvoy account, and even the most cautious of them holds back no further than George Murphy of the San Francisco *Chronicle*, who said, "I wouldn't want to swear to anything without checking my notes, which were put away months ago. But it stands to reason that Hallinan would not have been browbeating his own witness. That Carlotti was a mean fellow. As for the Army transcript, there was a great deal of shouting in the courtroom and there's a good chance that the stenographer messed it up."

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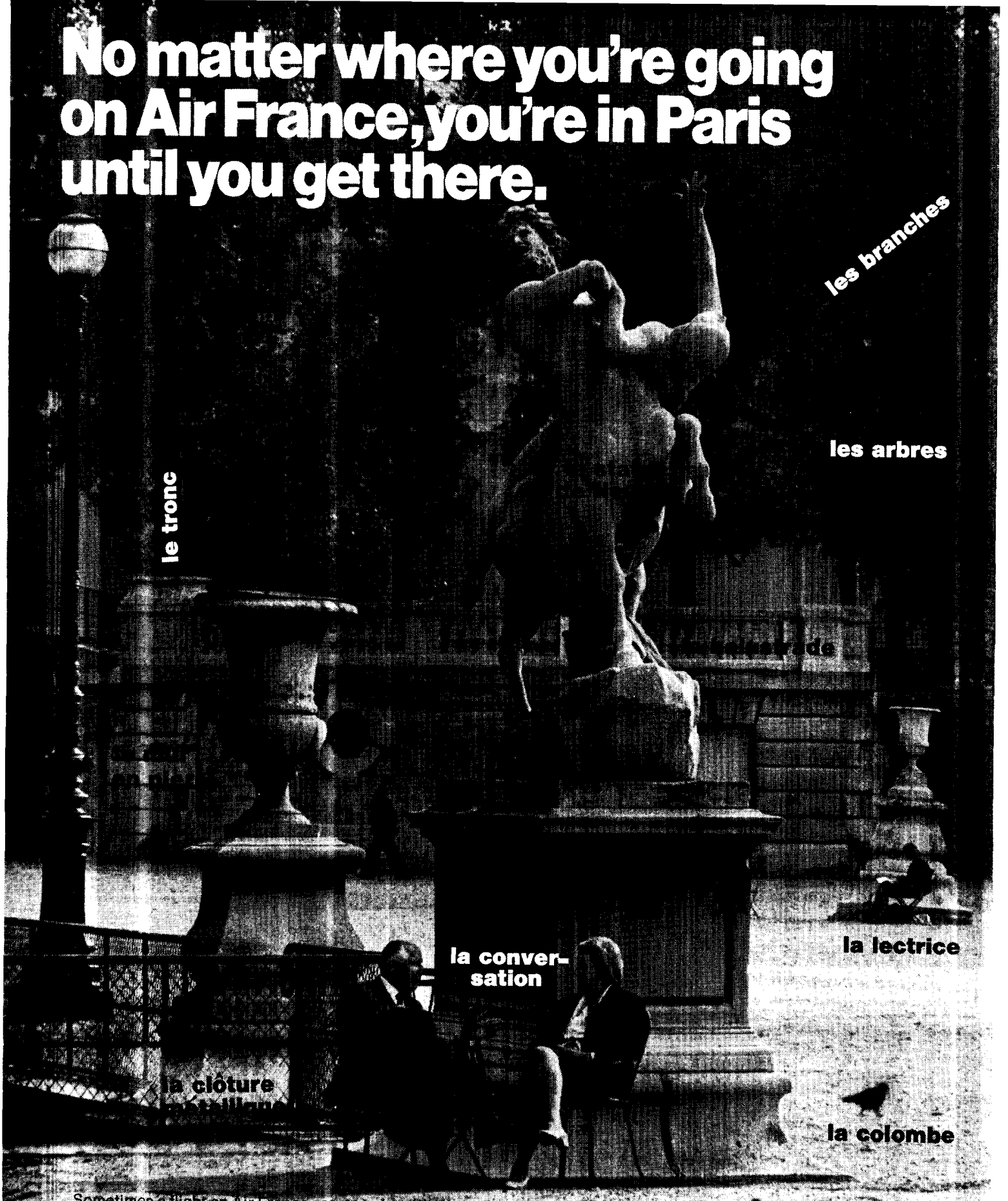

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If the reader accepts the accuracy of the *Examiner* account, then he will simply have to conclude, as I have, that the Yale law faculty contains at least one dangerously tricky windbag and that there is at least one bully among Yale's alumni.

● Mr. Bishop says that " 'command influence,' which Mr. Sherrill flogs for most of Chapter 3, is beginning to look like a moribund, if not dead, horse." It is not a dead horse Mr. Bishop smells but the manure being dropped from a very live and kicking one. The commanding officer decides whether to prosecute; he picks the jury; he picks the defense as well as the prosecuting attorneys; he approves the search warrants; he reviews the court-martial decision. The commanding officer is a one-man inquisition, as Henry B. Rothblatt, for example, discovered when he was hired to defend some of the Green Beret murder suspects. (See his account in the July-August 1970 issue of *Case and Comment*.)

● Mr. Bishop says I was in error when I wrote that Marines Harvey and Daniels were imprisoned for "asking to talk with their commanding officer about the justice of black men being sent to Vietnam." For lack of space, I will skip longer corroborating articles and simply cite the *Wall Street Journal*, December 8, 1969, which records that Harvey and Daniels were charged with disloyalty for calling the Vietnam conflict "a white man's war" in a bull session and urging other blacks *"to join them in asking for a special meeting with their commander to discuss the war."*

● Among Mr. Bishop's other tricks, he neglects to tell COMMENTARY's readers that regarding one important interpretation of constitutional history, I cited by way of paraphrasing the opinion of Justice Hugo Black—an authority whom Mr. Bishop is apparently reluctant to challenge openly.

● Mr. Bishop writes, "Mr. Sherrill predictably compares the Dreyfus case with the trial of Captain Howard Levy, but about the only similarity is that in each case the accused was a Jew." Details of the Levy case, he said, "have no more in common with the Dreyfus case than Robert Sherrill has with Émile Zola." It is interesting to see how grotesquely a Richard Ely Professor of Law will distort a situation just to make a wisecrack. I opened the Levy chapter by warning that "one must be cautious in likening the affair Levy to the Dreyfus case. There are points of similarity, though not always exact ones," and I dispensed with the comparison in three brief paragraphs, pointing out that the most fascinating material similarity between the cases was that "Dreyfus would surely have been exonerated if a secret dossier had not been produced against him; against Levy, too, a secret dossier was produced, this one making the difference between whether or not he was to be court-martialed." On the whole it was a rather restrained comparison, I think, and certainly justified considering that Levy's own lawyer likened the two cases as did a number of the best reporters at the trial.

● Mr. Bishop denies that the military often will not allow defense attorneys to call the witnesses they want. To see how wrong he is, please read, for example, "Justice and Captain Levy" by Ira Glasser, associate director of the New York Civil Liberties Union, in the *Columbia Forum*, Spring 1969.

● Mr. Bishop denies that the Army deliberately thwarted enforcement of the Supreme Court's 1969 decision in O'Callahan *v.* Parker, which limited the jurisdiction of courts-martial to "service-connected" offenses. See the *American Bar Association Journal*, June 1970, pp. 595-97: ". . . By hook or crook every judge advocate is doing his best to establish that every crime is 'service-connected.' "

● Reluctantly passing up other military law and constitutional history disagreements, I must spend this last space for one of the choicest pieces of black humor to come my way in some time. Mr. Bishop ridiculed me for stating that the Law of Land Warfare was being violated by U.S. forces which raze villages and arbitrarily move the population of whole regions of South Vietnam into what amount to concentration camps. Of course, as is his way, he does not tell you that it was not I who argued this, but rather it was Charles Morgan, Jr., Levy's attorney; the judge had given Morgan a chance to plead Nuremberg law, and he was doing it. But that's not the point. The black humor I was saving is this: Mr. Bishop says, apparently with a straight face, that *our* soldiers

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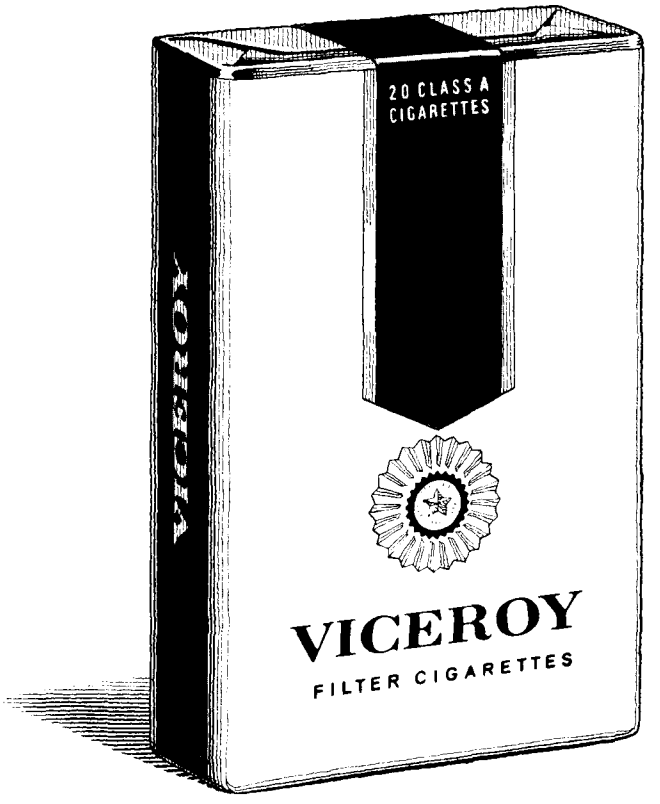

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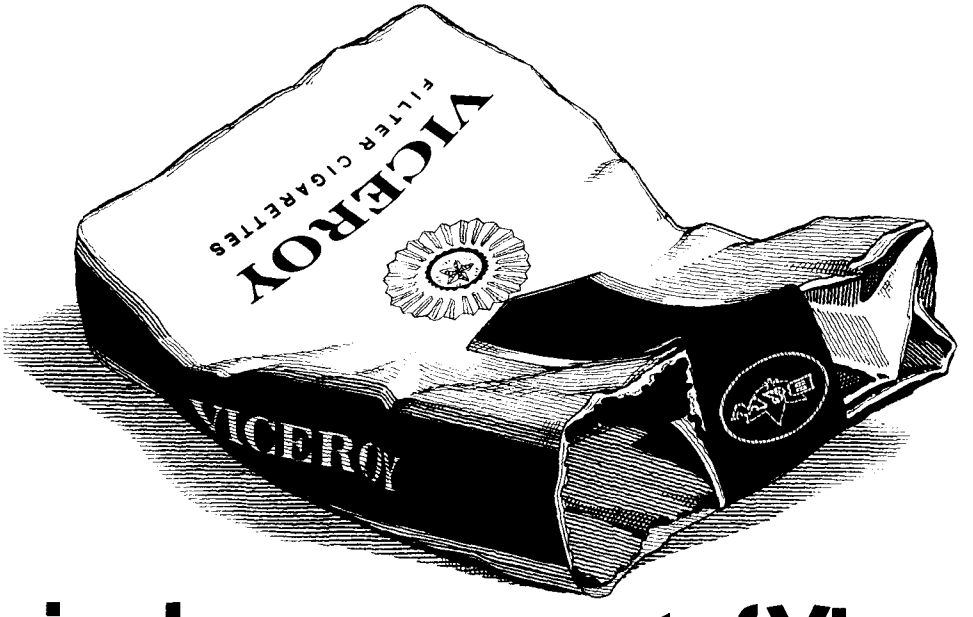

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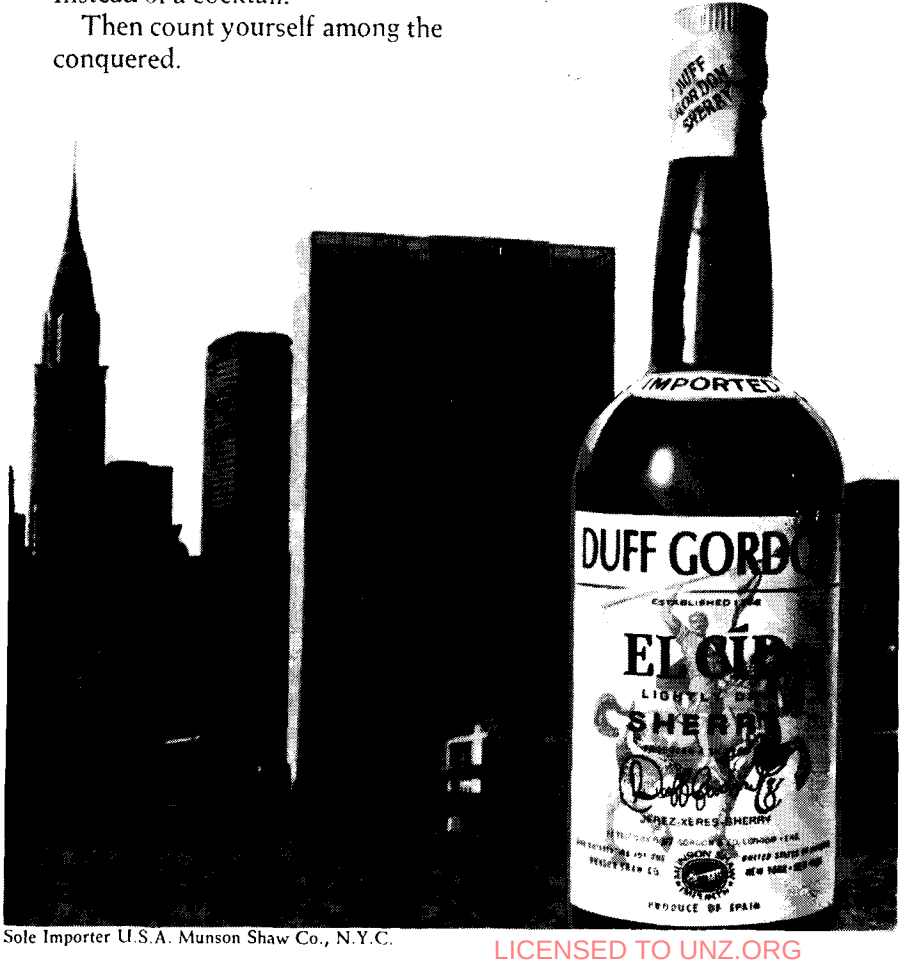

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aren't shifting the population, and "there is nothing in international law which forbids the government of South Vietnam to move its own nationals into refugee camps." Lenny Bruce couldn't have thought up a better line. I understand that our humanitarian Mr. Bishop is now preparing a book for Atheneum on the law of land warfare. It should be worth waiting for.

Mine was a one-sided book in the pamphleteering tradition. Much can be said sympathetically for the problem of military commanders who must try to maintain discipline while being confronted with the demands of an increasingly libertarian generation. (In fact, I took ample note of this dilemma in the book.) But it is clear that Mr. Bishop was not the man to give COMMENTARY's readers the other side.

ROBERT SHERRILL
Washington, D.C.

JOSEPH W. BISHOP, JR. writes:

Disposing first of Dr. Schlesinger, the account in my review is based on the official record of trial in the case in question, which must by law include a verbatim transcript of all the testimony, and is a public document, available to me, Mr. Sherrill, or Dr. Schlesinger. I gather from Dr. Schlesinger's letter that he has not looked at it. Although I believe Stephen Carlotti to be an honest and truthful young man, I was well aware that the participants in a controversial episode do not always recall it accurately. Accordingly, I communicated with the Department of the Army and asked for photocopies of that part of the transcript in which Dr. Schlesinger described the accused's mother as "some kind of a prostitute." Pages 2562-64 of the transcript confirm Captain Carlotti's account. In pertinent part, they read as follows:

REDIRECT EXAMINATION

Questions by Mr. Hallinan:

* * *

Q. But when you're talking to a person, Doctor, do you have any means by which you are able to judge whether a person is trying to deceive you or not?

A. I think so. I think there's—if I may say it this way—[the accused] tries very hard to appear normal. If anything, he kind of resented, if I may say this, he kind of resented my talking to him. He thought that I

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—that there was some kind of, I don't know, embarrassment about it for one thing. The other thing is that there is an internal consistency here historically. And in terms, as I tried to say before and I got a little impassioned, and I apologize for that—that there is no fixed point in his life. I think that if anything he glosses over the facts. He gave me the statistics about his mother and his father almost casually, incidentally, about half an hour or forty minutes of appearing very "normal." But I kept hearing these events and looking for some stable point in his life, what was a base line, had he had some peer relationships, had he had some school experiences, and I found nothing. It was like trying to grab cotton candy or something. There was nothing to hold onto, and I became convinced. I didn't go into this with a preconceived notion. I was impressed despite—if the court will understand this—despite [the accused's] rather casual way of presenting these things. [The accused's] mother, whatever the legalisms are, and he may want to take a swing at me for this, but as far as I'm concerned, she is some kind of a prostitute, and this is a hard thing to say in front of a man and to go into all the dynamic implications of that. And yet he didn't push these things on me. This lad was elucidating while I was sitting on my duff there for two hours listening to him sort of very casually present himself as just another kid. And I heard a history that was quite different from that. And this is the basis for my arriving at my position, sir.

MR. HALLINAN: Could we take a brief recess, Your Honor, and I will finish up my examination.

CPT. CARLOTTI: I'd like, Your Honor, if we could finish up counsel's examination because I don't anticipate I am going to have many questions on recross when we come back.

CPT. YEARY: Just out of common decency and courtesy we request a short recess.

LO*: For what?

MR. HALLINAN: [The accused] is having a little problem. We would like to take a recess while he gets himself together, if we can.

LO: The court will recess for five minutes.

(Whereupon at 1517 hours, 21 May, 1969, the court was recessed; and at 1525 hours, 21 May 1969, the court was reconvened.)

PRES: The court will come to order.

CPT. CARLOTTI: Let the record reflect that all parties present when the court recessed are again present in court and that Dr. Schlesinger was on the stand.

Court reporters do, of course, occasionally make errors in transcribing the testimony, but I have never known one to "garble" the transcription to the extent which Dr. Schlesinger suggests. It is almost as unlikely that, if such a nearly inconceivable series of mistakes were made by the reporter, counsel would not have insisted upon their correction. If the account in the San Francisco *Examiner* and Dr. Schlesinger's recollection are inconsistent with the transcript, I regard the latter as by far the better and stronger evidence. I believe any court would do so.

Whether Dr. Schlesinger's statement was "forced" by Mr. Hallinan's question is a matter of judgment, which the readers of COMMENTARY are as competent to make as Dr. Schlesinger or I. At any rate, it was not forced by Captain Carlotti, who had concluded his cross-examination. I did not say that Dr. Schlesinger was "insensitive"; I do not myself believe that he was or that he was in any way derelict in the performance of his duty to the accused.

Robert Sherrill's statements are interesting, but not conclusive. I really believe that his letter (leaving aside the parts which consist merely of vigorous, but not, in my judgment, really first-rate, personal abuse) contains more inaccuracies and irrelevancies per page than his book. I shall deal with them in the order in which they appear.

1) I too defended Lieutenant Howe's right to carry his picket sign. I believe, and have written, that Article 88 is probably unconstitutional, certainly when it is applied in such circumstances as those of the Howe case. But I did not think that my support of Howe's First Amendment rights obligated me to stand up for his orthography. I did not on this account brand Mr. Sherrill as a "cheat"; I did think it was an interesting, if minor, example of his approach to the reporting of facts.

2) Mr. Sherrill's account of my nefarious connections with the government is actually almost correct, but irrelevant—except, I suppose, on a guilt-by-association theory. (He failed to say that I served in the Army for several years in World War II, part of the time as a Judge Advocate. Only Mr. Sherrill could have conducted a background investigation of a suspect without uncovering this damning fact.) None of the cases I briefed and argued for the Solicitor General's Office in those long-ago days of the Truman administration had anything to do with the loyalty-security program or any of Senator McCarthy's other crusades. Mr. Sherrill's description of my career as a McCarthyite omits to mention that in 1953, as Acting General Counsel of the Army, I advised that the Senator should not be given access to the loyalty-security files of various civilian employees, for which I was duly denounced by him and Roy Cohn (see New York *Times*, April 21, 1954) in rather abusive terms. This inoculation helps preserve my equanimity in the present circumstances.

3) As stated in my comment on Dr. Schlesinger's letter (and in my review), I did not rely on Captain Carlotti's statement alone. I regard the official transcript of testimony as the best (indeed, virtually conclusive) evidence of what was said by whom at any trial. It would be just about impossible for a court reporter not to know when cross-examination by the prosecutor ended and redirect examination by defense counsel began. The court reporter is sworn. The record must be authenticated by the military judge. Counsel can demand the correction of errors. The transcript was immediately available to Mr. Hallinan (the accused is, of course, entitled to a free copy) and therefore, I presume, to Mr. Sherrill. Mr. Sherrill does not claim that Mr. Hallinan ever objected to this part of the record (which does not, of course, depict him as "browbeating" his own witness); to the best of my knowledge Mr. Hallinan has never made such an objection. Mr. Sherrill's description of a newspaper story as a "more neutral source" than the record seems to suggest that the judge, the prosecutor, and the court reporter were engaged in a conspiracy to falsify the record and that they carried out their plot without objection by Mr. Hallinan. I can only say that I don't believe it; I find it difficult to believe that Mr. Sherrill does, although I admit that he is capable of such beliefs.

* Law Officer—i.e., the Military Judge.

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4) Mr. Sherrill's comments on command influence, though phrased with his usual cogency and elegance, are inaccurate and do not meet the point which I made. In non-capital cases the convening authority can no longer "pick the jury" if the accused requests, as most do, that he be tried by a military judge sitting alone. The convening authority's power to review cannot prejudice an accused, for it does not include power to reverse an acquittal or increase the severity of a sentence. If he sustains a conviction and sentence, they are still subject to review by authorities entirely independent of him, including the Judge Advocate General, a Court of Military Review, and Court of Military Appeals—not to mention the civilian courts, through petitions for writs of habeas corpus and other types of collateral attack on the verdict. The accused is, of course, entitled to retain his own civilian counsel, as did most of those in the cases discussed by Mr. Sherrill; when he does not, I agree that it would be better if military defense counsel were appointed by some independent authority—although in my experience appointed counsel rarely display any lack of zeal or diligence.

5) I did not base *my* account of the charges against Harvey and Daniels on a newspaper story, but on the charges and specifications as set out in the opinions of the Court of Military Appeals, reported at 19 USCMA, pages 529 and 539. I suppose that Mr. Sherrill would reply that the judges are biased and untrustworthy sources. Again, I don't believe it. They may err on the law, but they state the charges correctly.

6) Mr. Sherrill doesn't say where he paraphrased Justice Black, so I can't comment on that one, although I suspect that the Justice wouldn't recognize his own words in one of Mr. Sherrill's "paraphrases." If Mr. Sherrill thinks that law professors are reluctant to disagree with the Supreme Court, he has something yet to learn about law in general as well as military law in particular. I regard Justice Black as a very great lawyer, but I have on occasion differed with him "openly." (See my articles at 61 *Columbia Law Review* 40 and 112 *University of Pennsylvania Law Review* 317.)

7) As for the similarity, if any, between the cases of Captain Levy and Captain Dreyfus, I suggest that readers familiar with the latter read the various decisions of the civilian and military courts in the former. As stated in my review, I will furnish the citations on request.

8) Mr. Sherrill, deliberately or out of sheer inability to get anything straight, fudges the issue of the defense's right to call witnesses. I said that "the defense is free to put on the stand any expert witness who is willing to testify," which is true and which dealt with the particular assertion made by Mr. Sherrill. There may, of course, be difficult questions about when the defense can compel the government to subpoena a reluctant witness, or pay the fees and expenses of one who requires such compensation, or produce a military witness who is stationed far away, but neither Mr. Sherrill nor I was talking about these problems.

9) The next paragraph is similar fudge. No doubt judge advocates have since the *O'Callahan* decision tried to persuade the courts that offenses were "service-connected" in many doubtful cases. But I had faulted him for saying that that decision was "retroactive"—i.e., that it applied to prior convictions for offenses which were not service-connected.

10) Mr. Sherrill's next and, thank God, last paragraph is more fudge, and very highly flavored. What I said was that the provision of international law which Mr. Sherrill misread (if, indeed, he read it at all) applies only to enemy aliens in the territory of a belligerent and has no relevance to the relocation of South Vietnamese nationals in South Vietnam, whether by the South Vietnamese government or American forces acting with its authority. It was intended to regulate, and is clearly limited to, such situations as the internment by the British government in World War II of German and Italian nationals resident in the United Kingdom, or the United States's similar internment of German and Japanese nationals (as distinct from American citizens of German or Japanese descent) resident in the United States. Strong arguments can, of course, be made against the relocation of civilians in South Vietnam; but it *cannot* be argued that it violates international law.

I may be a "windbag" (I try not to be "tricky"), although it hardly lies in Mr. Sherrill's mouth to make such charges against anyone. But I was not "pamphleteering" for "the other side" of Mr. Sherrill's controversy. I am no spokesman for the Pentagon, as Mr. Sherrill would know if he had read any of my publications on military law. What I tried to speak for was the public interest in having the facts and the law stated with some attempt at accuracy and fairness. This is, I believe, the first time that Mr. Sherrill has described his book as "a one-sided book in the pamphleteering tradition." I think somewhat better of him for the admission, but I doubt that he would have made it but for my review. My reaction to *Military Justice Is to Justice* etc., far from being "unnatural," seems to me quite normal for a reviewer who, having some knowledge of the subject, reads such a book as Mr. Sherrill's.

I must say for Mr. Sherrill that he *has* performed one feat of investigative journalism by discovering, and reporting almost correctly, that I am writing a book on military law for Atheneum. This had been one of the most widely unknown facts in the publishing industry.

On Choosing Life

To the Editor of Commentary:

As a Jew, as a member of that large and skeptical generation of postwar babies, and as an employee of Zero Population Growth, Inc., an organization of forty thousand people concerned with achieving population stability, I feel I must refute the "playful" arguments made by Milton Himmelfarb ["A Plague of Children," April] and Norman Podhoretz ["Speak of the Devil," Issues, April] about the ZPG movement, and more specifically, the implications of ZPG for the Jewish people.

Both articles refuse to come to grips with one fact: there is only so much of this country. Only so much land, water, and air to exploit for each expanded generation. . . .

If taken now, steps to achieve population stability in the United States need involve no coercion whatsoever, merely the elimination of unwanted pregnancies, taken together with certain additional steps like repealing pronatalist laws, and providing public education on the need for ZPG.

Whether or not the United

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Rudolph Torrini is Professor of Fine Arts and Chairman of the Art Department at Fontbonne College in St. Louis, Missouri. He received his master of fine arts under the tutelage of Ivan Mestrovic at the University of Notre Dame, and was a Fulbright Fellow in the Accademia De Belle Arti in Florence, Italy. He was guest artist in the recent National Humanity Series under the sponsorship of the Woodrow Wilson Foundation. Professor Torrini's works can be found in private collections and museums throughout the world. He is recipient of numerous sculpture prizes, his works were represented in the Vatican Pavilion of the New York World's Fair, and he recently completed a commission for a monumental Civil War Soldier for the Museum of Westward Expansion at the St. Louis Riverfront Memorial Arch.

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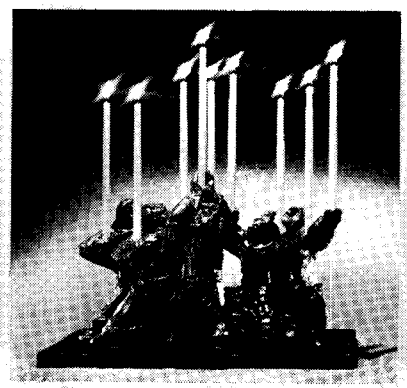

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States is currently overpopulated is a matter open to debate, but it is apparent that the U.S. *is* experiencing rapid population growth. In its attempts to feed its present population, the U.S. is destroying its ability to feed and support future generations; and the country is rapidly running out of the raw materials on which the economy is based.

The U.S. has grown by sixty-four million people since 1945, and the pace is accelerating. The number of Americans of peak childbearing ages (twenty to twenty-nine) was twenty million in 1960. It is now thirty million, and will be forty million by 1980. If couples were to agree from this moment on to have no more than an average of two children, the population would still receive an impetus from new parents and from immigration to enable it to grow to three hundred million by about 2030. According to the recent report of the U.S. Commission on Population and the American Future, if we keep delaying the date on which the first steps toward zero population growth are taken, and maintain, say, a three-child average per woman for the next hundred years, we can "look forward" to a population of almost a billion.

Of course, at that time we will not have sufficient resources to support these crowded generations. Chemicals and sewage will have eliminated any hopes that the sea might provide an unlimited counterpart to man's procreativity, and all currently-known U.S.-mined supplies of oil, natural gas, copper, uranium, lead, and about a dozen other vital substances will have been used up or rendered vastly more scarce and expensive. . . .

Society, to achieve the goal of population stability, should do what it tries to do in most of its regulatory functions: use the least possible pressure to achieve a sufficient result. And in the United States population stability does not require anything like the involuntary sterilizations which Mr. Himmelfarb describes—although the methods he speaks of would certainly have a liberating effect on people's sex lives.

Using census figures, demographers have estimated that women have an average of about 2.5 children each, and that the undesired fertility rate is 15 to 22 per cent. The elimination, through contraception and abortion, of those pregnancies which are not wanted, would probably reduce the birth rate right away to a level of fertility required for each generation to replace itself, and allow for some immigration. The government's major intervention would be to eliminate the legal and economic restrictions which force thirty-two thousand unwanted children to be born every month. It might also eliminate the tax and welfare incentives for large families. . . .

The elimination of unwanted fertility would have the secondary effect of establishing two children as the norm. A recent Census Bureau study revealed that the number of children expected by young couples was virtually the same, about 2.9, regardless of race, region, or income. People tend to imitate their neighbors, and if more and more of their neighbors stop at two children, a not-so-mild taboo will develop against taking advantage of other people's reticence by going on to four, or thirteen.

As for the parochial argument, ZPG, while tending to maintain ratios of ethnic groups in a population, does not freeze them or endanger any group—including the Jews.

In the United States, a cursory glance shows that Jews, who have generally kept their families small, and are only 3 per cent of the population, hold a disproportionately important position in science, politics, and the arts. Conversely, an examination of the experiences of Jews in Nazi-occupied countries refutes the idea that there is strength in the size of a minority. Poland, Latvia, and Czechoslovakia had relatively large Jewish populations before the war, but the Jews of these countries suffered far more than did the Jews of Belgium, Bulgaria, or France, where the Jewish population was less than one per cent.

Militarily, Israel in 1967, with two million Jews, defeated a coalition of fifty million Arabs. The Six-Day War demonstrated clearly that military power isn't dependent on population. In fact, as a population rises and strains the resources of the land, the nation becomes weaker and less able economically to wage modern warfare. Is it unpatriotic to suggest that we in the U.S. avoid such a fate?

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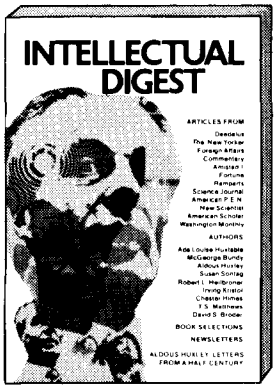

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to gain power simply by outbreeding the ethnic majority would gain many enemies and probably end in failure. For instance: in the U.S. non-white undesired fertility is estimated at between 20 per cent and 40 per cent of all non-white births. Let us suppose that a demagogic movement persuaded a large percentage of non-white women to abstain from using the more perfect contraceptives in order to outbreed the white majority and the result was a steady non-white average birth rate of 2.75 children per woman. Naturally, many whites would feel threatened and respond by maintaining a larger-than-replacement birth rate of, say, 2.45 children per woman. In twenty years (an entire generation, and four times longer than the phrase "black power" has been in popular existence) the non-whites could conceivably increase from a projected 15.9 per cent of the population in 1990 to 17.2 per cent—a 1.3 per cent difference.

The cost? Four million more children than if the overall average had been 2.45 children per woman (and most of the children unwanted) and seventeen million more people than if completed fertility had fallen to 2.11—enough to sustain a population and its ethnic balance forever without immigration. Seventeen million more people to compete for the awards supposedly being sought after, and to fuel and accelerate the population snowball. Will the pie still be there when the time comes to cut the pieces differently?

As for the hypothetical increases in the proportion of mentally-defective or socially-noncooperative persons in a voluntary ZPG system, the proportion would numerically be no greater than what we are experiencing at present, given our penchant for hiding contraceptives behind the pharmacist's counter. And running counter to such a problem would be the tendency for children in one- and two-child families to be brighter and better adjusted. An additional factor would be increased maturity within the population, since the current median age of twenty-seven would reverse its fairly stable course, and with replacement-level birth rates, rise to age thirty-six by the year 2020.

The discomfort Mr. Himmelfarb and others feel about population control has led them to call the concept anti-life. But it is not anti-life to kill a cancer cell which is growing so fast that it will end by overwhelming the body. Nor is it anti-life to plant seeds with space between them so that each plant has sufficient root space and sunshine to insure proper growth. Nor was it anti-life to invent and use the medicines which brought about the population explosion in the first place. . . .

The hope for a fruitful future is to recognize the necessities of today and multiply ourselves by a factor of one, thereby choosing life, but not growth.

PETER LIEDERMAN
Zero Population Growth, Inc.
Los Altos, California

TO THE EDITOR OF COMMENTARY:

. . . I regard with real terror many of the theories and proposals espoused by ZPG and some of our environmental hawks. . . . The possibilities for violence in the neo-Malthusian philosophy are overwhelming. Yet many people who should know better seem to have forgotten that the Nazis were deeply influenced by Malthus, and that the German medical profession, *on its own*, initiated the abortion, sterilization, and euthanasia programs which disposed of over a quarter of a million Germans whose lives were considered "devoid of value" in order to improve the "quality of life" for Aryan survivors. And all this before the Nazi government officially embarked upon its own "Final Solution." . . .

MRS. ROBERT K. NIXON
Birmingham, Michigan

MILTON HIMMELFARB writes:

Like most other movements, Zero Population Growth has its radicals and its moderates. Mr. Liederman is a moderate, or wants us to think he is. In my article I suggested that ZPG implies universal, compulsory, female sterilization. Not so, Mr. Liederman assures us: ZPG "need involve no coercion whatsoever"; it "does not require anything like the involuntary sterilizations Mr. Himmelfarb describes"; we need little more than a "taboo" against the anti-social begetting of "four, or thirteen" children, or actually maybe little more than doing away with "our penchant for hiding contraceptives behind the pharmacist's counter."

What could be more moderate? Mr. Liederman seems far removed from Professor Paul R. Ehrlich, whom I quoted in my article, or from Ehrlich's colleague Garrett Hardin, whom the press has since reported as saying:

> The government will have to step in and take control. That's all there is to it. There will have to be laws against big families. . . .
>
> Let's call it *X* number. Now, when a woman goes in to have that *X* child, she should be advised that she has the alternative of sterilization, if she so desires. But after that *X* child, *X* plus one, she would no longer have an alternative. She would by law be required to have an abortion and sterilization.
>
> . . . if we think of it in fact as *helping the woman, the family, and* the world, sterilization doesn't seem so bad. . . .
>
> I think such laws will be passed in the next generation. I see no other way out. Yes, it will be a tremendous abridgement of freedom. People have always had the right to have children. But what of the children's right? Do they not have the right to survival? They won't if our population gets too large.

But maybe the difference is not that Hardin is radical and Liederman is moderate. Detectives are said to practice a kind of division of roles, with one member of a team acting the tough guy and the other acting nice. Can it be that in ZPG the role of people like Mr. Liederman is to sound moderate? He seems a bit uncomfortable in the role. He lets his mask slip, as when he archly grants that "involuntary sterilizations . . . would certainly have a liberating effect on people's sex lives." The liberation effected by the Pill is not quite complete enough. Sterilization is not just useful, necessary, good for you. Sterilization is fun.

Mr. Liederman invokes the "thirty-two thousand unwanted children . . . born every month" in the United States. Now, "unwanted children" has a precise meaning. The unwanted child is not the infant the philosophers and kings don't want, he is the infant born of a pregnancy his mother doesn't want. As Mr. Liederman implies, the poorer the family, and the worse-educated, the greater the chance of unwanted children. There is also the ethnic-religious-cultural factor. At equal levels of education and income, American Jews have fewer children, whether wanted or unwanted, than others. (Marshall Sklare has spoken of the contraceptive virtuosity of American Jewry.)

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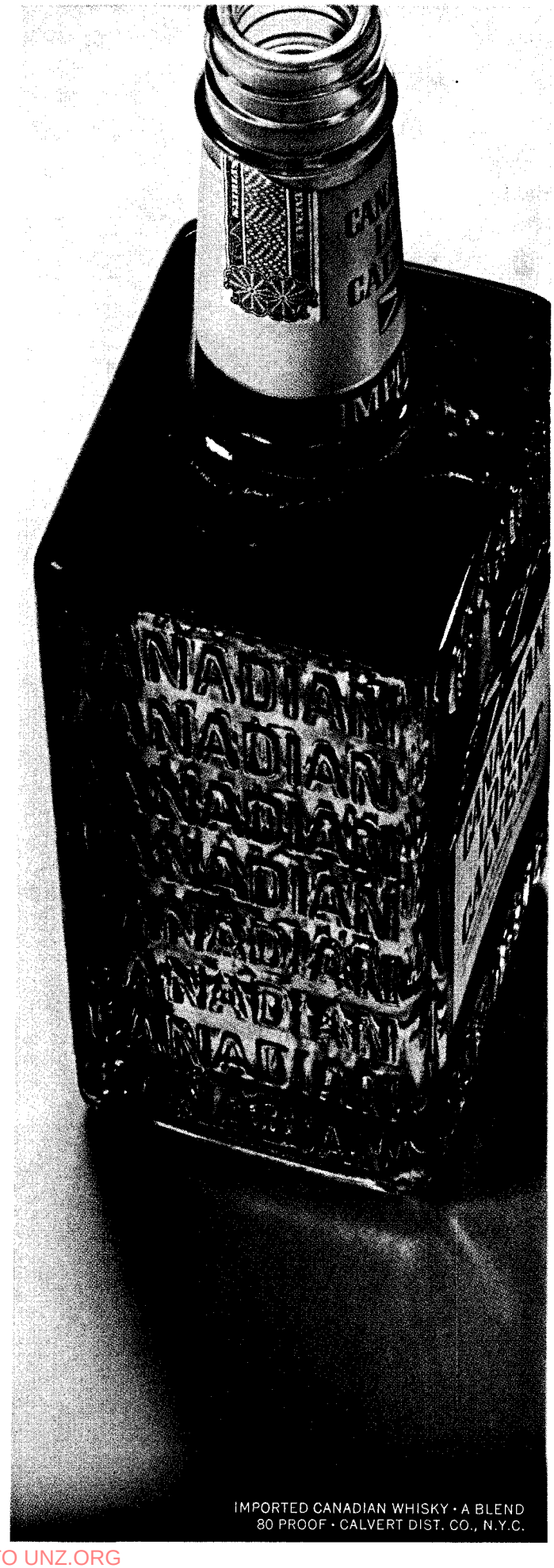

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From Mr. Liederman's own argument, three things emerge clearly: 1) that unwanted children are borne mostly by the poor and ignorant, by those who do not know of or have access to contraception or abortion, which have long been known and accessible to the prosperous and educated; 2) that while most Americans want too many children, American Jews "have generally kept their families small"; and 3) therefore, that the contribution to limiting population, even in America, and *a fortiori* in the world, that can be made by educated and prosperous American men, who have themselves sterilized, among whom Jewish men are disproportionately numerous, is insignificant. Yet Mr. Liederman does not disapprove the self-sterilization of those men.

In my article I suggested that, remembering what the Nazis did, Jews might reasonably be expected not to be briskly matter-of-fact, let alone eager, about sterilization. Mr. Liederman is not even matter-of-fact. He cannot forgo his little quip about sterilization's liberating effect on people's sex lives.

He may be too close to it even to understand that the question of the Jewish enthusiasm for ZPG and sterilization *is* a question—after all, he identifies himself for us both as a Jew and as an employee of ZPG. Someone else would ask about the difference between ZPG and other movements of reform, regeneration, and salvation—temperance, for example. The temperance cause has had a wide appeal in the United States, England, Ireland, and the Scandinavian countries. The reason is clear. Drunkenness has been a serious problem in all those countries. On the American frontier, especially, drunkenness was a chief obstacle to the domestication of all those grown-up Huck Finns who had to be dragged, kicking and screaming, into civilization. But temperance was an appealing cause only to that ethnic-religious-cultural group which was most threatened, or whose dreams of a right and fitting order were most threatened, by the drunkenness of its border-barbarian males: the English-stock and Scotch-Irish Protestants west of the Eastern seaboard. Anti-saloon and prohibitionary temperance was not an appealing cause to American Jews, mainly because their most serious problems did not include alcoholism. But neither is unbridled natality a serious Jewish problem. Why, then, the appeal of the ZPG cause to Jews, why all those self-sterilizing Jewish men?

Mr. Liederman is incapable not only of asking but even of understanding such questions.

In my article I expected prophetical-universalist Jews to refuse to grant the Jews, on our pleas of uniqueness in being so much fewer now than we were only a generation ago, and of our being too scarce to burden the earth, an exemption from ZPG duty. Mr. Liederman does not disappoint. He withholds the exemption. But he tempers his sternness with mildness. Less is more, the Bauhaus theorists used to teach; fewer is better, Mr. Liederman consoles the Jews. Luckily for the Israelis, he says, they were only two million in 1967, so they could defeat those many millions of Arabs. It would have been worse for the Israelis if they had been four million, and better if they had been one million—that must follow from his logic. Better still would it have been for the Israelis if they had been only a half million, or a quarter, or. . . . Then, no doubt, they would have won in six hours, not six days. Israeli Jews must be stupid to worry about the higher birth rate of Arabs than of Jews in Israel.

In Hitler's Europe, Mr. Liederman as historian tells us, the small Jewish communities fared better than the large ones. Mr. Liederman's history has no room for the small European Jewish communities which were not noticeably helped by their smallness. (The Nazis murdered 50 per cent of the Jews in Norway, 70 per cent in Holland, and 80 per cent in Greece. In Mr. Liederman's happy Belgium and France, the Nazis murdered only 40 per cent and 30 per cent of the Jews.) But that is by the way. If the fewer Jews the better, then best of all is that there shall be no Jews. Jewish zeal for ZPG and sterilization are the appropriate means to that end.

NOTE: *Norman Podhoretz is on vacation. His column, "Issues," will be resumed upon his return.*—ED.

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Jules and Jack

William S. Pechter

By now, just about everyone has heard of the folkloric salesman whose reaction to *Death of a Salesman* is reported to have been, "Well, that New England territory never was any good." From as valid, if off-center, a point of view, the film of Jules Feiffer's *Little Murders* might be taken as one long, belated (or premature, in the case of the play) Procaccino-for-mayor commercial. All the typical discontents of urban living—the smog-laden air, rusty tap water, malfunctioning telephones (except for obscene callers), electrical power failures, promiscuous muggings, random shootings—that one has grown inured to in sporadic doses are imagined as nonstop and ubiquitous. The image is, above all, of anarchy, of the complete breakdown of law and order.

The family of middle-class morons that we see as principal victims of this calamitous disorder—two of its members killed by sniper-fire—is, the film implies, merely by being middle-class and *ipso facto* moronic, also its provocation; and, toward the end, the father makes an impassioned and benighted plea for repression in the name of "freedom" that, from the film's perspective of leftish derision, has the effect of making him seem deserving of all he has got. But though middle-class responsibility for the city's ills might well be argued apart from the film and play, within the context of *Little Murders* the one instance we see depicted of the step-by-step progress from order to anarchy is that of Alfred, the ex-left-wing "activist" turned first "apathist," then sniper. (He is awakened from apathy by the boosterish zeal of Patsy, the daughter of the family which he marries into, and then, after Patsy's murder-by-sniper and his lapse into catatonic withdrawal, parodically reawakened to life—as a sniper—by a stroll through a surprisingly wholesome Central Park, and a glimpse of ongoing life around him.) And since Alfred isn't a member of the burlesqued family (other than by marriage) but rather the product of a cultured (*ergo* "sterile") home, and is given a speech detailing his development from activism to apathy that is obviously meant to be taken seriously as is no other in the film, the effect is of a tacit endorsement of Alfred's attitudes. Whatever *Little Murders* may think it is about, it is in actuality the most sympathetic portrayal of liberal backlash that the movies have yet given us.

Of course, when one speaks of Alfred's "development," one uses the word a good deal more provisionally than one might of a work that contained palpable characters with interior lives rather than the dimensionless constructs which inhabit *Little Murders*. I am hardly the first to make the point that the people in *Little Murders* are little more than animated versions of Feiffer's cartoon creations, but it is worth pointing out that Feiffer is a very peculiar kind of cartoonist to begin with, the cartoons in his work rarely more than a pale accompaniment to their captions, and the work itself usually losing nothing in paraphrase. This is not to say that Feiffer isn't talented, and, at times, very funny, but only that his work, even as a cartoonist, is singularly deficient in a dramatic sense, a sense of people interacting; a Milton Caniff might write a real play, however flatly melodramatic, but for Feiffer the encounter of two people is only the occasion for a dual monologue. It's not surprising then that the chief impact of *Little Murders* (the rest being mainly the erratically funny running of some lightly sketched figures through some implausibly plotted paces) is,

William S. Pechter *writes on movies regularly in these pages.*

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like that of his cartoons, conveyed by voice, and resides in four long monologues. Alfred's sub-Kafka parable of his role-reversal with the petty bureaucrat who is intercepting his mail, and his abandonment of political activism with the conclusion that "If they're that unformidable, why fight back?" is the most ambitious of these, and, freighted as it is with solemn self-importance, the dullest; Lou Jacobi's harangue on pulling oneself up with God's help by one's bootstraps begins more promisingly, but soon outlasts its inventiveness. But Donald Sutherland's sermon as the permissive, anything-goes, with-it minister ("First Existential") who marries Alfred into the family is, as a self-contained comic turn, very good indeed, and Alan Arkin's nervous breakdown, as a detective convinced that the common motive behind the city's rash of unsolved murders is the destruction of confidence in the police, quite brilliantly captures in miniature the paranoid hysteria and sense of anomie that the film as a whole draws on but nowhere else so successfully sustains. This speech and Arkin's manic delivery of it (he also directed the film) have been objected to as a virtually pathological outburst of paranoia, which they are, but the problem with *Little Murders* is not that it goes too far in this respect but that it doesn't go far enough; the Feiffer who genially says in an interview that he actually wouldn't want to live anywhere else but New York unfortunately does really seem to be the author of the play. And garbled and ambivalent as it is, the net effect of *Little Murders* is merely to give paranoia, at least the artistic expression of paranoia, a bad name.

After the St. Vitus's dance of *Little Murders,* one is inclined to give oneself to the unhurried pace of the opening moments of *Carnal Knowledge* with something like relief, and in hopeful anticipation that here is a movie in which scenes are going to be allowed to open up and develop and actors allowed to build a performance. Feiffer wrote *Carnal Knowledge* also, but this time as an original screenplay to be filmed by Mike Nichols, and one's first impressions are of the difference to a writer's work another director can make. But, as with the opening of *Catch-22,* hopes soon grind to a halt, and what at first seemed to be leisureliness very soon comes to be felt as a kind of torpor. And though one tells oneself that Nichols is at least a good director of actors, what one really means (if one actually recalls Dustin Hoffman doing his ingratiating *schlemiel* bit to Anne Bancroft's Dragon Lady in *The Graduate,* or everyone going his own way in *Catch-22*—I except the Burtons in *Virginia Woolf* as an impossible case) is that, given Nichols's background as a performer, he *ought* to be a good director of actors.

Carnal Knowledge is a series of episodes in the sexual lives of two males from the time of their college years as roommates in the 40's to their turning roughly forty themselves. Though the more prominent of the two, played by Jack Nicholson, is a big-time make-out artist and the other an idealistic believer in love, they are seen equally as products of their illusions, and those illusions themselves as a product of the 40's with its sexual taboos and pop-music sentimentality. Along the way, a number of females are rather callously abused, but, if *Carnal Knowledge* presents a feminist or at least anti-male chauvinist view of the relations between the sexes (when Jack Nicholson "takes" his first, virginal victim, he is seen only as a black, bearlike shape above her pale, suffering face), it remains true that the men are as much used as users, used and imprisoned by their own fantasies. In the end, his marriage to his college sweetheart having failed, the one searches for true love with an underage hippie, while the other, the ladies' man, attempts to stave off impotence by enlisting prostitutes in ritualistic tributes to his virility.

What *Carnal Knowledge* is, in short, is yet another version of Don Juan as impotent, a sentimental, wish-fulfilling cliché as durable in our popular art forms as that of money not buying happiness, or ruthless power-seekers ending up lonely. What distinguishes this from previous versions are chiefly its overlay of "frank" language and the unpleasant hint of gloating vindictiveness with which it pushes its principal from conquests to humiliation; the effect is rather of a wallflower's revenge on all the males who've ever outscored him. What distinguishes it also, and makes it, all differences of execution aside, of a piece with *Little Murders,* is its utter, limp passivity, its sense of experience as something before which one can only passively submit. I suppose one might call this the mark of the Feiffer sensibility, if it didn't seem more generally that of the sensibility of the Eisenhower era, of which period Feiffer was perhaps the preeminent wit. The characters in *Carnal Knowledge* do not act but are acted upon; if, indeed, as with *Little Murders,* one can describe as characters ventriloquist's dummies given lines like, "We spend fifteen minutes on foreplay. Do it in all the rooms of the house. It's a seven-room house" (the "idealistic" friend straightfacedly describing his conjugal relations to Nicholson). The funniest moment in the film is really quite telling in a way Feiffer hadn't intended: Jack Nicholson concluding a showing of slides of the girls in his life with a Bugs Bunny-like, "Th-th-th-th-th-that's all, folks!"

I guess it might be said that in some respects *Carnal Knowledge* represents an advance in dramaturgy over *Little Murders* in that the vicious quarreling between Jack Nicholson and Ann-Margret (as another conquest he tires of) does demonstrate Feiffer's ability to write dramatic dialogue; but this kind of verbal violence, though effective, is, after all, rather easy to do; Albee and LeRoi Jones made their reputations as playwrights with such stuff. Given, if not a character (signals flash: "Vulnerable—Potential Suicide!" almost as soon as we see her) then at least a part, Ann-Margret delivers a surprisingly good, solid performance; maybe Nichols deserves some credit for this, and maybe not. But Jack Nicholson's Hollow-Man role gives him even less to work with than he had in *Five Easy Pieces,* which in its turn

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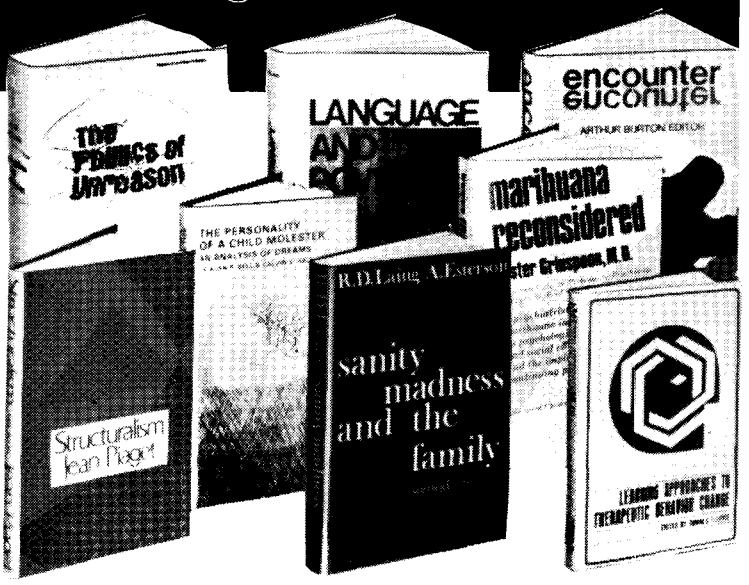

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was less than in *Easy Rider*. Here is an actor not only able to project real intelligence, but one with genuine audience rapport as well; notice, for instance, how in the scene in which he brutally berates Ann-Margret, even though his is the unsympathetic character, his appeal as a screen personality has the audience in his hands (laughing at his cruel jokes at her expense, etc.) much as the early Kirk Douglas could win an audience even while playing heels; which is to say, though one can't yet assess Nicholson's capabilities as an actor, he does already manifest the presence of a star. Like *Catch-22*, *Carnal Knowledge* is depressing in a way I would contend no successful work of art, however grim, can be; but the continued failure to make use of Jack Nicholson's talents is really the saddest thing in the whole of the film's flattened-out, cartoonish wasteland.

ELLIOTT GOULD, Donald Sutherland, Alan Arkin, Jules Feiffer, Mike Nichols, Jack Nicholson; notably among the missing from this stellar gathering are Dustin Hoffman and Buck Henry, and perhaps one might also add Arthur Penn to the list, but in the main *Little Murders* and *Carnal Knowledge* are almost the epitome of a certain kind (and currently the most prestigious kind) of "New American Movie." Why do I go to see such things? Why does anybody? In part, *I* go for careerist reasons; in search of something to write about. But in great measure I go out of a habit of moviegoing, now almost tropistic. I don't agree with Pauline Kael when she claims in her introduction to *Going Steady* that, to speak with authority, a film critic must see everything; what may be right for her (and it is) isn't necessarily right for everyone else. But while the thought of going daily to the movies depresses me beyond words, I can't get through two movieless weeks without developing a restless desire to see a movie; and not necessarily any movie in particular, but just a *movie*.

This habit, or drive, was formed in me before my adolescence, and had little to do with any search or hunger for art. (When a friend led a splinter group of our Saturday-matinee-moviegoing gang to depart from our routine of thrillers and Westerns in order to accompany him to *The Red Shoes*, he was set upon and beaten up by his companions on leaving the theater, a response I sympathized with then and do now.) I did occasionally *find* art, and, along the way, was stimulated into reflection on what constituted art in film and elsewhere. Yet it would be hypocrisy to pretend I sought it, or that it played much part in the many films of the 40's which I enjoyed and continue to enjoy, even though I went to them "critically" even then. Of critics now writing regularly on films, probably there's no one with whom I share so great an affection for so many disreputable films of the 40's as I do with Andrew Sarris; yet, while I can admire the way Sarris continues to give himself over to apologetics on behalf of these works with a lover's devotion and the way he has been willing to risk ridicule for the sake of his enthusiasms, much of his writing seems to me to turn on the fallacious assumption that, because one likes something, it is necessarily good. Several of my favorite movies are bad, and for an inveterate moviegoer (like Sarris) not to admit this of himself seems to me not only to misrepresent the impeccability of one's taste, but to misrepresent as well what we go to the movies for.

I went not for art, but for pleasure; aesthetic pleasure at the "highest" level of my moviegoing experience, but also other pleasures, descending through various levels to mere escapism at the lowest. And I continue to go for both the highest reasons and the lowest. The observation has been made that intelligent people will go to see films whose novelistic equivalent they wouldn't think of reading, and in part this can be explained by the inability of the medium, owing to its multifarious character, to be as lifeless as hack fiction. In a novel, everything is

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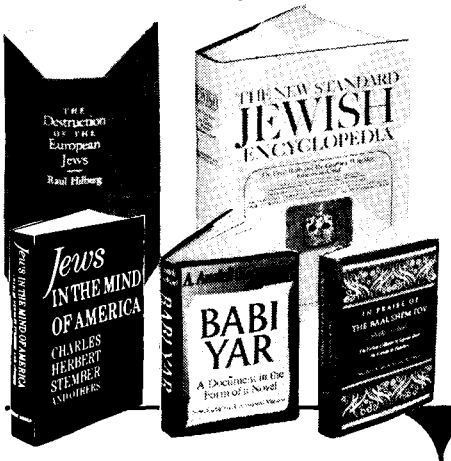
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filtered through the writer's sensibility; this single sensibility sets the limits of what the work can contain; but, in the film, one may find diversion in scenery, or clothes, or beautiful people (not to say distinguished acting, or writing, or photography, or direction) quite apart from the hackneyed materials which may be at the fore. Yet, beyond this, the fact is that it's *easier* to see a bad movie than read a bad novel; easier to sit passively through something like *Carnal Knowledge* or *Little Murders* than actively to bring oneself to read someone like Bruce Jay Friedman. Indeed, it would be sham not to admit that, other than on the very highest level, the experience of moviegoing is in general a less demanding one than that of reading; except insofar as the experience of seeing a foreign-language film is partly one of reading. And though some of my favorite films are as complex and difficult as works of art in any medium can be, some part of me (the prototypal moviegoer) still resists the idea of the experience of seeing films presenting such difficulties. Pauline Kael recounts how, when she managed a movie theater and showed *The Seventh Seal,* people used to call up to ask the starting time of *The Seventh Veil,* which she assumed they really wished they were going to see. I know, in my own case, I've rarely gone to any foreign-language film when, at the moment of passing through the theater door, I wouldn't have preferred to be about to see a Bogart thriller or Astaire musical.

That I continue to go to the movies in search of pleasure—other than that "highest" pleasure to be found in the occasional film which is a serious work of art—is a tribute to how deeply the moviegoing habit is ingrained in me, considering how rarely pleasure is afforded. There are still some conventional "lower" pleasures—excitement, romance—occasionally to be found in some unfashionable films by older directors—Huston's *The Kremlin Letter,* Stevens's *The Only Game in Town,* Wilder's *The Private Life of Sherlock Holmes,* whatever their deficiencies may be—and odd pleasures also in the even rarer work such as *Brewster McCloud,* which, whatever its deficiencies, uses the idiom of with-it, Lesteroid film-making toward individual and imaginative ends. (The kind of pleasure one at least tells oneself one once got from good American melodramas one finds now either in such more complex form as that of Bertolucci's brilliant *The Conformist* or not at all.) But does anyone get pleasure from *Carnal Knowledge* or *Little Murders*? Isn't one, on the contrary, persuaded of the notion of their seriousness by the very fact of how little pleasure they provide? The cant phrase here is "black comedy." The genre it identifies is one in which gag-writing as indiscriminate in its rule of anything-for-a-laugh as that of the Red Skelton show eventuates in something calculated to shock the audience into a realization of the film's significance; increasingly, as in *Little Murders,* this "something" has been bloodshed, and the "anything" sacrificed for a laugh usually includes consistency of characterization for a start. Above all, there is the self-conscious sense shared by film and audience alike of going beyond the bounds of "good taste," and laughing at taboo subjects. A film such as Carl Reiner's *Where's Poppa?* seems to spring solely from this impetus: that of testing the limits of the new permissiveness in screen comedy; despite which (apart from its genuinely heartless humor at the expense of "old folks" in "homes" during its final scenes) the work has been thoroughly tamed in advance by its desire to be shocking without running the risks of daring to displease. (The final scenes of placing the mother in an institution *have* displeased some of the film's admirers, an index to these scenes' superiority.) And the same is true of *Little Murders.* It is "shocking," though not, of course, to us, who dig it. Rather, it "shocks" its audience in the way that, in the view of the censor, pornography "corrupts"; that is, it shocks not us but some presumed "other." We who dig it are left feeling not so much shocked as hip and virtuous.

And it is this, above all, that I resent about *Little Murders* and *Carnal Knowledge,* and all the films like them which they can be taken to represent. Moviegoing used to be something about which one felt one ought to feel guilty; it was time-wasting, and one's sense of this somehow enhanced its pleasure. But going to a movie like *Little Murders* or *Carnal Knowledge* (or *Catch-22* or *Little Big Man*) has become as dull and "worthwhile" an experience as going to a concert or the theater; one is no longer going to a mere movie, but to a legitimated cultural event. There were always, of course, these kinds of movies, but they used to be the ones one's parents went to and the knowledgeable (which used to mean "youthful") moviegoer shunned. Now the members of the so-called "movie generation" line up to see *Carnal Knowledge,* and their elders in newspapers and magazines provide critical sanction for their preferences. And just in case one still isn't cured of *The Seventh Veil,* there's now the first Elliott Gould movie by Ingmar Bergman to look forward to. It's almost enough to make me reconsider my skepticism about doctorates in Cinema. Any discipline as unenjoyable as has become that of contemporary film-study probably merits the handing out of Ph.D.'s.

IF THE opening moments of *Carnal Knowledge* tend to be encouraging, I had, during the first few minutes of *Drive, He Said,* the sinking feeling of being about to celebrate my first anniversary of having seen *Getting Straight.* "More drivel," I said to my companion, but very soon after I realized with surprise that I was wrong. (Not so surprising, perhaps, given the film's pedigree of having been found insulting to Judith Crist's intelligence, and, in the great tradition of *L'Avventura,* booed at Cannes, though I suspect those going in the expectation of another grooving youth movie are in for a nasty surprise.) The speaking of the Robert Creeley poem from which the film and novel take their title is a mistake—the poem should have remained a written (pre-credit) epigraph—and the first scenes of a college basketball game interrupted by some radical students' guerrilla theater seem just

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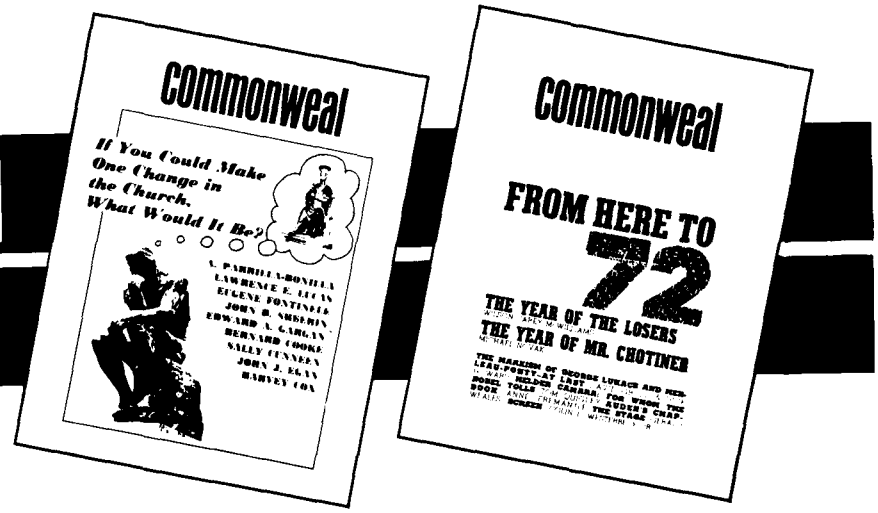
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familiar stuff from the campus-protest movies bag. As subject matter, the campus in turmoil has been so thoroughly travestied by our movies that one is predisposed to dismiss such things out of hand; which makes even more astonishing the film's achievement in imaginatively remaking the campus into an arena of serious human emotions. Who could have believed after *Alice's Restaurant* that a scene of a radical hippie calculatedly (in part) freaking-out at his army induction could be as powerfully unsettling as it is here, or that one could ever bring oneself to care again about the fate of another alienated student?

I don't think one can effectively convey the impact of *Drive, He Said* by any paraphrase of what happens in it. The principal characters are a college basketball player, committed to the exercise of his skills but disaffected from the locker-room ethos and increasingly conscious of his skills' irrelevance to his life and that of those around him, the athlete's politicized roommate, slipping into drug-triggered psychosis, a young professor with whom the athlete maintains an awkward friendship, and the professor's wife with whom the athlete is having a volatile affair. What we see in fragmentary glimpses of these fully-imagined characters in their complex tangle of relationships constitutes the substance of the film; *it* is what the film is about if one can really say that the film is *about* anything as one traditionally thinks of a work's theme in fiction (though the relations among the professor's wife, her husband, and her lover convey a more exacerbated sense of the convolutions of sexual exploitation than can be found in the whole of *Carnal Knowledge*). The film's effect is less of drama than of a series of scenes or sketches of campus life. What unifies the parts is essentially the sense of uncontrollable breakdown, of stasis, dysfunctioning. The image is of a world whose defining principle is that of entropy. In the end is no revelation, but only one more piece of the crumbling system, coming apart.

Could so discursive a work be as compelling in any other form less hybrid than that of film? I don't think it could as a play; it isn't in Jeremy Larner's smug and flashy novel from which the film has been very freely adapted. What makes it so compelling as a film are its look of jagged modernity (it was photographed by Bill Butler who shot *The Rain People*) and the way the film's look sets off the exceptional ensemble of performances by William Tepper as the athlete, Michael Margotta as his roommate, Robert Towne as the professor, and, perhaps most impressive, Karen Black as the wife. (Bruce Dern in the more conventionally-written part—though hardly the novel's crude caricature—of the basketball coach gives a performance whose cameo effect is, on a smaller scale, a bit like that of Jack Nicholson's performance in *Easy Rider*.) Nicholson himself directed *Drive, He Said*, and, though I usually cringe when I hear of actors turning to direction to give wider scope to their "creativity," it seems clear that Nicholson has had here an opportunity to utilize the intelligence his recent film roles have denied him. Directing in a fragmented style I'm not generally partial to, he has nevertheless succeeded in creating a work in this style in which the performances come strongly and vividly through, and, when performances are as good as they are here even in such small roles as that of Mike Warren as another basketball player, or the Pfc. who makes a pre-induction speech, then it's clear that they are also a director's achievement (as is the film's consistently imaginative use of music and sound).

There are occasional lapses in handling—there's too much poetry-of-the-game slow motion in the basketball sequences, but then there probably ought to be a moratorium on slow-motion sequences in movies for at least ten years (though the slow motion under the credits works beautifully), and a student "rap" session descends to the level of the opening. But the penultimate scene of the now-deranged roommate, alone on campus in early morning, freeing the insects and reptiles in a biology lab, though criticized as a too-crudely-symbolic representation of his madness, seems to me rather a strikingly successful, surreal metaphor for both the world all the characters have come to inhabit and the emotional upheaval of all that has gone before; this, after all, is a film which begins with the casually unstressed uncaging of a leopard which, in a sense, vanishes into the very texture of the work. As guards and orderlies appear to take the roommate away, he turns to them and says with chillingly persuasive conviction, "I want you to know one thing. . . . I'm totally sane. . . . I'm seeing you exactly as you're seeing me"; and it almost seems as if the film itself is at this point addressing us. The only words spoken after this are those of the athlete forlornly shouting, "Your mother called. . . Your mother called . . ."; his voice growing inaudible, blending with the bells tolling from the campanile, as we see his receding figure from the window of the ambulance in which the roommate is being driven away.

Despite its real imperfections, *Drive, He Said* seems to me to be not only an extraordinary directorial debut, but, beyond that, probably the most fully alive and exciting American movie since *The Wild Bunch*. If the Feiffer films provide an occasion to lament the passing of a kind of pleasure from American movies, I do nevertheless realize that we cannot really make 30's and 40's movies again. *Drive, He Said* may be harsh and difficult (though it can also be very funny), but, unlike Nichols's films, it's not depressing, and its energy and brilliance do indeed give one pleasure, if not the simple pleasure of a *Casablanca*. Moreover, it is something we probably need in films now even more than we do a more polished, perfected, self-contained masterpiece: a work which shows that there are ways out of our blind alleys. At a time when our films' "new freedom" is resulting in an almost instantaneous trivializing of serious contemporary subjects by their assimilation to coarsening formulas, *Drive, He Said* takes some of the deadest commonplaces of the current screen, and makes us see, despite our skepticism and resistance, that these bones can live.

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Authenticity and the Modern Unconscious

Lionel Trilling

ONE of the most salient characteristics of the culture of our time is the intense, we might say obsessive, concern with authenticity as a quality of the personal life and as a criterion of art. If we undertake to point to specific developments in contemporary art by which the preoccupation with authenticity expresses itself, literature offers us a sufficiently striking example in the drastic reduction that has taken place in the status of narration, of telling stories. It is the exceptional novelist today who would say of himself, as Henry James did, that he "loved the story as story," by which James meant the story apart from any overt ideational intention it might have, simply as, like any primitive tale, it brings into play what James called "the blessed faculty of wonder." Already in James's day, narration as a means by which the reader was held spellbound, as the old phrase put it, had come under suspicion. And the dubiety grew to the point where Walter Benjamin could say some three decades ago that the art of storytelling was moribund. T.S. Eliot's famous earlier statement, that the novel had reached its end with Flaubert and James, would seem to be not literally true; the novel does seem to persist in some sort of life. But we cannot fail to see how uneasy it is with the narrative mode, which once made its vital principle, and how its practitioners seek by one device or another to evade or obscure or palliate the act of *telling*.

Benjamin speaks of the "orientation toward practical interests" which is "characteristic of many born storytellers"; he says that stories are likely to contain, openly or latently, "something useful," that they have "counsel to give." And this giving of counsel, Benjamin says, has come to have "an old-fashioned ring." *Old-fashioned*: which is to say inauthentic for our time—there is something inauthentic for our time in being held spellbound, momentarily forgetful of oneself, concerned with the fate of a person who is not oneself but who also, by reason of the spell that is being cast, is oneself, his conduct and his destiny bearing upon the reader's own. By what right, we are now inclined to ask, does the narrator exercise authority over that other person, let alone over the reader, and arrange the confusion between the two and presume to have counsel to give?

Richard Gilman, perhaps with Benjamin's essay in mind, has said of narration that it is "precisely that element of fiction which coerces and degrades it into a mere alternative to life, like life, only better of course, a dream (or a serviceable nightmare), a way out, a recompense, a blueprint, a lesson." A chief part of the inauthenticity of narration would seem to be its assumption that life is susceptible of comprehension and thus of management. It is the nature of narration to explain; it cannot help telling how things are and even why they are that way. How did death come into the world and all that woe? Well, I will tell you—"In the beginning. . . ." But a beginning implies an end, with something in the middle to connect them. The beginning is not merely the first of a series of events; it is the event that originates those that follow. And the end is not merely the ultimate event, the cessation of happening; it is a significance or at least the promise, dark or bright, of a significance. The tale is not told by an idiot but by a rational consciousness which perceives in things the processes that are their reason and which derives from this perception a principle of conduct, a way of living among things. Can we, in this day and age, submit to a mode of explanation so primitive, so flagrantly Aristotelian?

To that question a negative answer has been given by a significant part of one important intellectual profession—of recent years many historians have repudiated the ancient allegiance of their craft to the narrative mode. Such is the extent of their disaffection that G. R. Elton can speak of it as "contemptuous hostility" and feel under the necessity of making the defense of narration a chief intention of his book on the principles and practice of political history. Professor Elton accounts for the settled antagonism to the method of narration by the multiplicity of evi-

LIONEL TRILLING, whose books include *The Liberal Imagination*, *The Opposing Self*, and *Beyond Culture*, is University Professor at Columbia. The present essay is a revised version of the last of six lectures on sincerity and authenticity that Mr. Trilling gave at Harvard last year as the Charles Eliot Norton Professor of Poetry. The series, with an essay in conclusion, will be published next year by the Harvard University Press.

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dential material which has become available to modern historians. It is a multiplicity so great as to induce the belief that it must inevitably be betrayed into simplicity if it is presented as a story and that "the only way of writing history consists in taking a bit of the past to pieces before the reader's eyes and putting it together again, in the description of an organism or structure." Elton acknowledges the intellectual gratification which follows from the method of structural analysis—"a task properly completed and a piece of proper understanding added . . . to the general store of knowledge"; by comparison, he says, "the satisfaction of telling a story (however complicated), is likely to be at best aesthetic, at worst meretricious." Yet he contends that the exclusive commitment to the method of analysis issues in the negation of history itself, for it ignores the "fact of motion" in which history consists. "Without a sense of time and change, of life and death, history ceases altogether to be history, whereas a narrative devoid of the full range of past experience is still history, only not altogether adequate or satisfactory history."

INEVITABLY WE wonder whether something more than considerations of technique has not led the historians to their adverse view of narration, whether beneath the methodological reasons there is not to be discerned an unformulated cultural judgment. This possibility is affirmed by J. H. Plumb, whose explanation of the low status of narrative history is much more drastic that Elton's, for it is his view that the past itself is on the point of being extirpated from the consciousness of modern man. The extremity of his thesis is announced by the title of the book in which he sets it forth, *The Death of the Past*. "Industrial society," Professor Plumb says, "unlike the commercial, craft and agrarian societies which it replaces, does not need the past. Its intellectual orientation is towards change rather than conservation, towards exploitation and consumption. The new methods, new processes, new forms of living of scientific and industrial society have no sanction in the past and no roots in it. The past becomes, therefore, a matter of curiosity, of nostalgia, of sentimentality." That is to say, the past, so far as it exists in the modern consciousness at all, is not what in the past it was—it is not the sanction of authority, it is not the assurance of destiny. Its coming to the verge of death was a sudden event, occurring within present memory, a generation ago—in Britain, Plumb says, the last potency of the past was expressed in the nation's "concept of its own role in the titanic struggle against Hitler."

"A narrative past, a past with sharp and positive beginnings"—it is thus that Plumb characterizes the past that has passed away. "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth." "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God." These are beginnings as sharp and positive as any can be, and the great efflorescence of history in the 18th and 19th centuries—of narrative history, as now we are required to say—may be thought to have had it as one of its unavowed aims to supply their loss. When God died, as by common consent He did, however slowly the explicit news of the demise was received, history undertook to provide the beginnings which men once thought necessary to the authenticity of the world and themselves. Nietzsche says that the realization of the death of God makes all things seem "weightless"; the great narrative historians in some considerable degree kept gravity in being by thickening the past, making it exigent, imperative, a sanction of authority, an assurance of destiny. The tale they told interpreted the sound and fury of events, made them signify *something*, a direction taken, an end in view. "In the beginning was the Witenagemot." "In the beginning was the genius of the Celtic race." From which follow the purpose, the glories, the essential rightness, the indubitable actuality, the firm sentiment of being of the English people, of the French people. Narrative history, by its representation of necessity and vicissitude, served to keep man sufficiently weighty, made it still possible for feet to know that the solid earth was under them, that there was a required and right course for them to follow. "To write the History of England as a kind of Bible"—this was an enterprise that Carlyle urged in a time of crisis and anxiety. "For England too (equally with any Judah whatsoever) has a History that is Divine; an Eternal Providence presiding over every step of it . . ., guiding England forward to *its* goal and work, which too has been considerable in the world!"

But now the narrative past, like the divine Beginner for whom it was for a time the surrogate, has lost its authenticating power. Far from being an authenticating agent, indeed, it has become the very type of inauthenticity. *Here* and *now* may be unpleasant, but at least they are authentic in being really here and now, and not susceptible to explanation by some shadowy *there* and *then*. The disfavor into which narrative history has fallen with historians is reflected in the virtual extirpation of it from the curriculum of our schools and its demotion in the curriculum of our colleges. It has changed the nature of political thought, the radical no less than the conservative: Marxist theory, at least so far as it is popular, no longer proceeds under the aegis of the logic of history, as so proudly it did forty years ago. It bears upon the extreme attenuation of the authority of literary culture, upon the growing indifference to its traditional pedagogy; the hero, the exemplary figure, does not exist without a sharp and positive beginning; the hero is his history from his significant birth to his sig-

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nificant death. And perhaps the low status of narration can be thought to have a connection to the family—traditionally the family has been a narrative institution, with counsel to give and a tale to tell of how things began, including the child himself.

II

I HAVE not put forward the matter of our culture's adverse opinion of narration in order to deal with it as in itself it deserves to be dealt with, but only to exemplify the kind of cultural phenomena which might properly come within the purview of a discussion of the ideal of authenticity. But now that it is before us, it may appropriately be made to serve a further purpose, that of introducing the large and difficult subject I do propose to deal with here in some detail—the ideal of authenticity as it relates to the modern theory of the mind, and in particular to that concept which is definitive of modern psychological theory, the unconscious. The concept of the unconscious was brought to its present complex development by psychoanalysis. As I need scarcely say, psychoanalysis is a science which is based upon narration, upon telling. Its principle of explanation consists in getting the story told—somehow, anyhow—in order to discover how it begins. It presumes that the tale that is told will yield counsel.

Psychoanalysis entered fully upon the cultural scene not many years before Eliot made his statement about the novel having come to its end. Some critics have speculated that psychoanalysis itself played a part in the devolution of the novel, that it offered a narrative explanation of conduct which, by comparison with that of prose fiction, seemed more complete and authoritative. But if psychoanalysis can be thought to have been in competition with the novel and to have won some sort of ascendancy over it, this was not of long duration. In recent years the attachment of the American educated class to Freudian theory has markedly diminished. This development cannot be ascribed to any single cause, but the contemporary disenchantment with narration as a way of explaining things surely has some bearing upon it.

Still, if a withdrawal of credence from psychoanalysis is indeed to be observed as a tendency of our culture, it is a tendency which has by no means completed itself. Among the elements of Freudian theory there is at least one that stands in no danger of being abandoned, for it is integral to our cultural disposition. This is the doctrine that in the human mind there are two systems, one manifest, the other latent or covert. It is not an idea with which we are always at ease—by each one of us the personal evidences of an unconscious mental system are likely to be received with an ever fresh surprise and discomfiture which qualify their credibility. Yet despite occasional vicissitudes, the idea of an unconscious mental system is firmly established in our culture.

That a portion of the activity of the mind is not immediately available to consciousness is of course not in itself a new idea. It did not originate with psychoanalysis. Freud himself said that it was the poets who discovered the unconscious, and beyond the poets' instinctive recognition of it there has been a considerable body of formulated belief in its existence and some fairly specific predications about its nature. Scholars have described the numerous pre-Freudian theories of the unconscious and a recent work by Henri F. Ellenberger, *The Discovery of the Unconscious*, does so in an especially thorough way.

In speaking of the sources of Freud's thought, Professor Ellenberger adduces the intellectual tendency which, he says, requires emphasis because it has hitherto been overlooked. This is the disposition of mind, salient in Europe for some centuries, which he calls the "unmasking trend" and describes as "the systematic search for deception and self-deception and the uncovering of underlying truth." Ellenberger assigns its beginnings to the French moralists of the 17th century and notes its continuance in Schopenhauer, Marx, Ibsen, and Nietzsche. One might add that the idea of "unmasking" also played an important part in the ethos of the French Revolution. The "unmasking trend" continues with unabated energy in our own time, and if we try to say why the idea that there is a mental system which lies hidden under the manifest system has won so wide an acceptance among us, doubtless one reason is that it accords with our settled belief that beneath the appearance of all human phenomena there lies concealed a discrepant actuality and that intellectual, practical, and (not least) moral advantage is to be gained by forcibly bringing it to light.

It would be an incomplete but not an inaccurate description of the theory of psychoanalysis to say that it conceives of the conscious system of the mind as a mask for the energies and intentions of the unconscious system. Freud himself puts it that the ego, which is the seat of consciousness, is "a kind of façade for the id," which is unconscious. This suggest a complicity between the ego and the id, which does in fact exist. It does not, however, suggest the simultaneous antagonism between the two entities. The energies and intentions of the id are instinctual and libidinal and its sole aim is the achievement of pleasure. The primary concern of the ego is with the survival of the human organism, and to this end the ego undertakes to control the heedless energies and intentions of the id, going so far as to thrust them out of sight, which is to say, out of consciousness. By thus repressing the impulses of the id, the ego makes possible the existence of society, which is necessary for human survival.

But the tale, as we know all too well, does not

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end here. The instinctual drives of the id, although controlled and in large part repressed, do not acquiesce in the program of the ego. In the darkness of the unconscious to which they are relegated, they maintain a complex subversive relation with the conscious system and succeed to some extent in expressing themselves through it, not directly but by means of a devious symbolism. This symbolic expression of the repressed instinctual drives typically involves some degree of pain and malfunction and is called neurosis. The pathology is universal among mankind. As Freud puts it, "We are all ill"—neurosis is of the very nature of the mind. Its intensity varies from individual to individual; in some the pain or malfunction caused by the symbolizing process is so considerable as to require clinical treatment. But the psychic dynamics of such persons are not different from those of the generality of mankind. We are all neurotic.

The basis of the clinical procedure of psychoanalysis is well known. The therapeutic method begins with the belief that when once the conscious part of the mind learns to interpret the difficult symbolism of the repressed drives of the unconscious and by this means brings to light what it feared and thrust out of sight, the ego will be able to confront the drives of the id in all their literalness and thus be relieved of the pain that their symbolic expression causes. The patient, the analysand, by various means, by retrieving his childhood experience, by reporting his dreams and interpreting them with the analyst's help, by articulating his fantasies and his fugitive thoughts, of which some will be trivial and silly, others shameful, will learn to identify the subversive devices of the banished impulses and come to terms with them as appropriate elements of his nature and thus deprive them of their power over him.

IF THIS WERE the whole extent of the therapeutic enterprise, it would surely be possible to speak of it as a process of unmasking. It seems to constitute a very considerable effort of self-knowledge, a strenuous attempt to overcome an inauthenticity of the mental life which is not the less drastic because it is enforced and universal. And this is so not merely because of the nature of what is confronted in psychoanalysis—because, that is, the idea of authenticity readily attaches itself to instinct, especially to libidinal instinct—but because an inauthenticity of the mental life is implied by the very nature of neurosis, its being a substitute for something else. Psychoanalysis speaks of the pain or malfunction of neurosis as a "substitutive gratification"—what could be more inauthentic than an impulse toward pleasure which gains its admission into consciousness by masquerading as its opposite? The neurosis is a Tartuffian deceit practiced by one part of the mind upon another. It is to be dealt with by tearing the mask from its face.

But if indeed this were the whole extent of the therapeutic enterprise and, as such, suggested the whole extent of the theory of neurosis, then Jean-Paul Sartre would have been largely in the right when he made his adverse judgment on psychoanalysis, impugning the sincerity of the self-knowledge it yields, charging it with an essential bad faith, a profound inauthenticity.

Sartre delivered this judgment in a chapter of *Being and Nothingness,* his monumental investigation into the conditions of personal authenticity. He based it on his understanding of what must follow from the assumption that the mind consists of two parts, the unconscious id, which is wholly comprised by the instinctual drives, and the conscious ego, which censors and controls the id. "By the distinction between the 'id' and the 'ego,'" Sartre says, "Freud has cut the psychic whole in two." As a consequence of this dichotomy, the phenomena of the id, which can be known only by hypothesis, may indeed be brought to the conscious mind as more or less probable; they will not, however, be known with the force of an intuition, as an actual part of the individual's moral being. As Sartre puts it, "I *am* the ego; I *am not* the id." That is, the person in psychoanalytic treatment acquiesces in a view according to which he, the ego-he, the subject, is separated from, and permitted to disown, that part of himself of which he has been unconscious until psychoanalysis disclosed it to him—as an object. Sartre represents him as having been given license to say, ". . . I am not these psychic facts, insofar as I receive them passively," that is, insofar as he receives them as mere phenomena distinct from what he calls his self. They may be, so to put it, discoverably inside him and at work upon him, but he regards them as no more really *him* than he would a tumor simply because it had been discovered in him.

Sartre's criticism of psychoanalysis on the ground of its de-authenticizing effect would have to be considered very seriously had analytical theory rested at the point where Sartre's knowledge of it seems to have stopped. But Sartre, writing in 1943, took no account of what had been happening in the development of Freud's thought during almost a quarter-century. In 1919 Freud began a radical revision of his theory of the unconscious, and on the basis of his later formulations it can no longer be said that he cuts the mind in two, making a dichotomy between the unconscious id and the conscious ego. His developing theory does not represent the ego as coextensive with consciousness—some part of the ego is now thought to be as out of sight in the darkness as the id. "There is something in the ego itself," Freud says, "which is also unconscious, which behaves exactly like the repressed—that is, which produces powerful effects without being itself conscious and which requires special work before it is made conscious." To Freud's avowed surprise—he speaks of the

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phenomenon as a "strange" one—the activities which go on in this newly discovered part of the ego are the same as some of the activities which are engaged in by the conscious part of the ego. These are activities which are regarded as, to use Freud's phrase, "extremely high ones," such as moral judgment and self-criticism. That is to say, moral activity is no longer to be seen as wholly a function of consciousness.

This is a decisive change in the conception of the ego. No longer is the ego viewed by Freud "as something autonomous and unitary." Rather, he says, in its unconscious part the ego "is continued without sharp limitation" into the id. "The ego itself is cathected with libido"—indeed, the involvement of the two antagonists with each other is so intimate that Freud can say of the ego that it "is the libido's original home and remains to some extent its headquarters."

The momentousness of Freud's revision of his theory of the ego will be immediately apparent. Where once the ego, the segment of the mind which, so to speak, does the living and transacts business with the world, was thought of as wholly conscious and as bedeviled in its practical purposive existence by the blind instinctual drives which seek by devious means to subvert its control, now the ego is understood to be in part unavailable to consciousness, no less devious than the id and profoundly implicated with the id's libidinal energies, while at the same time its "extremely high" activities of moral judgment and self-criticism direct themselves, quite without benefit of consciousness, not only to the id but to the ego itself.

We may note in passing the effect which this radical change in the conception of the ego had upon clinical practice, how its extreme complication of the topography and dynamics of the unconscious system gave pause to the earlier therapeutic optimism of psychoanalysis, at least in point of the length of time required for successful treatment, leading Freud to write his paper with the disquieting title "Analysis Terminable and Interminable." But what bears upon our present interest is the completeness with which the revision of ego-theory sets at naught Sartre's criticism of psychoanalysis. The charge that psychoanalysis institutes a profound inauthenticity in the personal life by making a dichotomy between the ego and the id which alienates the conscious self from its subversive libidinal impulses is seen in the light of Freud's later formulations to have no validity whatever. Had Sartre's objection been advanced a quarter-century earlier, it would have been apposite indeed; put forward when it was, its anachronism must be accounted one of the curiosities of philosophy.

YET if the particular charge of inauthenticity which Sartre brought against psychoanalysis must be dismissed, it by no means follows that all further litigation on this score is to be similarly nonsuited. The concept of authenticity is inherent and operative in Freudian theory, and it is both inevitable and appropriate that it should be invoked as a decisive criterion in the judgment of psychoanalysis itself. It is no less validly applicable to psychoanalysis in its later development than in its first formulations. Indeed, Freud's revised description of the ego issues in a theory of society to which the criterion of authenticity is especially pertinent.

From the first, it need scarcely be said, a conception of society had been central to Freud's psychology. The ego was a social entity; society was the field of its experience and from society the ego took much of its direction and received many of its gratifications. In relation to the id, which was defined by its a-social impulses, the ego was the surrogate of society. One might say that society was all too rigorous in its demands and that at its hands the ego as well as the id of any of its individual members suffered excessive frustration. Still, the social life had come into being at the behest of the ego and to serve its purpose of survival. The price which society exacted for advancing the aims of the ego could be scrutinized and possibly adjusted. Psychoanalysis certainly did not license the idea that communal life and the civilization that arose from it could be changed in an essential way, to the end of freeing the individual from frustration, yet it did seem to suggest that the relation between the individual and the community was, roughly speaking, a contractual one, which the individual might regard pragmatically. It was a relation that seemed to admit of at least some degree of accommodation on both sides.*

But this view of the cause of individual frustration was profoundly modified by the development of Freud's new conception of the ego, which began in 1919. In 1930 Freud published his most fully articulated statement of what his theory of the mind implies for man's social destiny. *Civilization and Its Discontents* is a work of extraordinary power. For social thought in our time its significance is unique. It may be supposed to stand like a lion in the path of all hopes of achieving happiness through the radical revision of social life.

Despite Freud's gift of lucid expression, *Civilization and Its Discontents* is a difficult book, in some part because it undertakes to lead us beyond an idea with which we are familiar and comfortable, that society is the direct and "sufficient" cause of man's frustration. Its central thesis is that society is no more than the "necessary" cause of frustration. As Freud now describes the dynamics of the unconscious, the direct agent of man's un-

* For the possibility and extent of the accommodation, see *Civilization and Its Discontents*, in *The Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, Standard Edition, vol. XXI (Hogarth Press, London), p. 141.

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happiness is an element of the unconscious itself. The requirements of civilization do indeed set in train an exigent disciplinary process whose locus is the ego, but this process, Freud says in effect, is escalated by the unconscious ego far beyond the rational demands of the societal situation. The informing doctrine of *Civilization and Its Discontents* is that the human mind, in the course of instituting civilization, has so contrived its own nature that it directs against itself an unremitting and largely gratuitous harshness.

The specific agent of this extravagant severity is an element of the unconscious which has not been named in what I have so far said about psychoanalysis, although its activities have been referred to—they are those "extremely high ones" of moral judgment and self-criticism. The element of the unconscious that carries on these activities Freud calls the super-ego. He tells us that the super-ego was originally part of the ego but seceded from it to establish an autonomous existence and a position of dominance over the ego's activities. It derives its authority from society, whose psychic surrogate it in some sense is. In some sense only, however, because in point of repressiveness the super-ego is far more severe than society, whose purposes are largely practical and therefore controlled by reason. We mistake the nature of the super-ego when we make it exactly synonymous, as commonly we do, with conscience. Only up to a point are the two coextensive. The operations of conscience are determined by its practical social intentions, but the super-ego is under no such limitation and in consequence its activity is anything but rational.* The process it has instituted against the ego is largely gratuitous, beyond the needs of reason and beyond the reach of reason. The particular kind of pain it inflicts is that which Freud calls guilt.

We must be clear that in Freud's use of it this notorious word does not have its ordinary meaning. Freud does not use it to denote the consciousness of wrongdoing, which he calls remorse.† The nature of guilt as Freud conceives it is precisely that it does not originate in actual wrongdoing and that it is not conscious. It takes its rise from an unfulfilled and repressed wish to do wrong, specifically the wrong of directing aggression against a sacrosanct person, originally the father, and it is experienced not as a discrete and explicit emotion but as the negation of emotion, as anxiety and depression, as the diminution of the individual's powers and the perversions of the intentions of his conscious ego, as the denial of the possibility of gratification and delight, even of desire. Guilt is Blake's worm at the root of the rose-tree.

At this point I think it should be remarked that the description of the super-ego given in *Civilization and Its Discontents* is—by conscious intention, of course—a highly prejudicial one, putting all possible emphasis upon the gratuitousness of its behavior, upon its lack of measure and reason, its needless harshness. As against this pejorative view, we should recall that Freud understood the institution of the super-ego to be a decisive "advance" in the development of the mind. "It is in keeping with the course of human development that external coercion gradually becomes internalized," he says in *The Future of an Illusion*; "for a special mental agency, man's super-ego, takes it over. . . . Every child presents this process of transformation to us; only by that means does it become a moral and social being. Such a strengthening of the super-ego is a most precious cultural asset in the psychological field. Those in whom it has taken place are turned from being opponents of civilization into being its vehicles. The greater their number is in a cultural unit the more secure is its culture and the more it can dispense with external measures of coercion."**

Yet when we have given all possible recognition to the essential and beneficent part that the super-ego plays in the creation and maintenance of civilized society, we cannot ignore its deplorable irrationality and cruelty. These traits manifest themselves in an ultimate form in the terrible paradox that although the super-ego demands renunciation on the part of the ego, every renunciation which the ego makes at its behest, so far from appeasing it, actually increases its severity. The aggression which the ego surrenders is appropriated by the super-ego to intensify its own aggression against the ego, an aggression which has no motive save that of its own aggrandizement. The more the ego submits to the super-ego, the more the super-ego demands of it in the way of submission.

It is not practicable to recapitulate here Freud's explanation of how the super-ego became what it now is—the argument is difficult in the extreme, involving as it does the contradictions and conversions of the immemorial dialectic between the fostering and unifying instinct which Freud calls Eros and the hypothesized death-instinct from which aggression, including the aggression of morality in the service of Eros, derives.†† And for our purpose, the whole of the dark history, fas-

* For the complex distinctions that Freud makes between conscience and the super-ego, see, for example, *Civilization and Its Discontents*, p. 136.

† See *Civilization and Its Discontents*, p. 131. "When one has a sense of guilt after having committed a misdeed, and because of it, the feeling should more properly be called *remorse*. It relates only to a deed that has been done. . . ." See also pp. 132, 134 (on the "normality" of remorse), 136-7.

** Standard Edition, vol. XXI, p. 11.

†† It is perhaps worth observing that although subsequent writers, taking license from Freud's use of Eros, often refer to the death-instinct as Thanatos, Freud himself does not use the Greek word, perhaps because he wished the speculative and much-resisted concept to appear in the unmediated force of common speech.

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cinating though it be, is not essential. It will be enough if we understand that although it was to serve the needs of civilization that the super-ego was installed in its disciplinary office, the actual behavior of the super-ego was not dictated by the actual needs of civilization; the movement of the super-ego from rational pragmatic authority to its gratuitous cruel tyranny was wholly autonomous.

This being so, must we not say that Freud's theory of the mind and of society has at its core a flagrant inauthenticity which it deplores but accepts as essential in the mental structure? Man's existence in civilization is represented as being decisively conditioned by a psychic entity which, under the mask of a concern with social peace and union, carries on a ceaseless aggression to no purpose save that of the enhancement of its own power, inflicts punishment for no act committed but only for a thought denied, and, so far from being appeased by acquiescence in its demands, actually increases its severity in the degree that it is obeyed. Nor does the insatiable tyrant confine its operations to the internal life of individuals; its rage for peaceableness quickens and rationalizes man's rage against man. The hegemony of this ferocious idol of the psychic cave may indeed not have been required or intended by civilization, but surely in tolerating the great fraud civilization is profoundly implicated in its grotesque inauthenticity.

It is natural to suppose that if this anomalous condition of human existence can be discovered and described by the rational intellect, it might, by this same agency, be efficiently dealt with to the end of controlling its activity and thus bringing about a substantial increase of human happiness. Inevitably we entertain the speculation that, since the aggressivity of the super-ego has some part of its tortuous etiology in its response to the aggressive impulses of the ego, a revision of societal arrangements which would have the effect of lessening ego-aggression should induce the super-ego to abate its characteristic fierceness. Freud himself, in the concluding pages of *Civilization and Its Discontents,* raises the question of how far this project is susceptible of being realized. The reply he makes is tentative and gentle in its manner, as how could it not be, denying as it does an aspiration to which all of conscious human desire must tend? He will not dismiss out of hand all possibility of devising societal forms which might have a beneficent effect upon the psychic dynamics he has described. But his skepticism, though muted in courtesy to our hope, is profound—is, we cannot but know, entire. He consents to say that it is "quite certain that a real change in the relations of human beings to possessions" would make society's ethical ideals more attainable. He cannot go on to say that this will bring about a melioration of the dynamics of the unconscious life. He understands the limitless exigence of the super-ego to be rooted in the immemorial past, in the natural history of an organism in which the will to survive by ceaseless effort is matched in strength by the will to find peace in extinction. Against the psychic dynamics instituted by this ambivalence, by this interfusion of the primal "Yes" and the no less primal "No," and reinforced by later ambivalences, the simultaneous love and hate of the father, the desire for isolate autonomy and for union with others, it is unlikely that any revision of societal forms can prevail. Ultimately it is a given of biology, definitive of man's nature, and its consequences are not to be reversed.

III

WHY did Freud bring his intellectual life to its climax—for such we might take *Civilization and Its Discontents* to be —with this dark doctrine? What was his motive in pressing upon us the ineluctability of the pain and frustration of human existence?

The question I put is the one that Nietzsche says should guide our dealings with any systematic thinker. He urges us to look beneath the structure of rational formulation to discover the *will* that is hidden beneath, and expressed through, its elaborations. What is that will up to? What does it want?—really want, that is, apart from the "truth" that it says it wants.

There is no malice in the question Nietzsche prescribes. It has for its purpose not "reduction" but comprehension, such grasp upon a man's thought as may be had through the perception of its unarticulated and even unconscious intention. It is a mode of critical investigation whose propriety and efficiency Freud himself of course confirms.

To that question I would propose this answer: that Freud, in insisting upon the essential immitigability of the human condition as determined by the nature of the mind, had the intention of sustaining the authenticity of human existence that formerly had been ratified by God. It was his purpose to keep all things from becoming weightless.

For Freud, as we know, religion was an illusion with no future whatever. This certitude was central to his world-view and he was remorseless in his efforts to enforce it. Yet from religion as it vanished Freud was intent upon rescuing one element, the imperative actuality which religion attributed to life. Different individual temperaments, committed to incompatible cultural predilections, will respond to *Civilization and Its Discontents* in diverse ways, but all will take into account, positively or negatively, its powerful representation of the momentous claim which life makes upon us, by very reason, it seems, of its hardness, intractability, and irrationality. The fabric of contradictions that Freud conceives human existence to be is recalcitrant to preference,

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to will, to reason; it is not to be lightly manipulated. His imagination of the human condition preserves something—much—of the stratum of hardness that runs through the Jewish and Christian traditions as they respond to the hardness of human destiny. Like the Book of Job it propounds and accepts the mystery and the naturalness—the natural mystery, the mysterious naturalness—of suffering. At the same time, and without contradiction, it has at its heart an explanation of suffering through a doctrine of something like original sin: not for nothing had Freud in his youth chosen John Milton as a favorite poet, and if he gives no credence to the idea of redemption, he yet acquiesces, and with something of Milton's appalled elation, in the ordeal of man's life in history.

Nothing could be further from my intention than to suggest that Freud's attitude to human experience is religious. I have it in mind only to point to the analogue which may be drawn between Freud's response to life and an attitude which, although it is neither exclusive to nor definitive of religion, is yet, as it were, contained in religion and sustained by it. This is what we might call the tragic element of Judaism and Christianity, having reference to the actual literary genre of tragedy and its inexplicable power to activate, by the representation of suffering, a faith quite unrelated to hope, a piety that takes virtually the form of pride—however harsh and seemingly gratuitous a fate may be, the authenticity of its implicit significance is not to be denied, confirmed as it is by the recognition of *some* imperative which has both brought it into being and prescribed its acceptance, and in doing so affirmed the authenticity of him to whom the fate is assigned. It is this authenticating imperative, irrational and beyond the reach of reason, that Freud wishes to preserve. He locates it in the dialectic of Eros and death, which is the beginning of man's nature. Its force in his own life, in the shaping of its character and style, is decisive. In the last days of his long painful illness he forbade his physician to administer any anodyne stronger than aspirin, and when he discovered that his injunction had been violated out of compassion, he flashed out in anger, *"Bei welchem Recht?": by what right* had the good Dr. Schur interfered with his patient's precious sentiment of being as that was defined by his chosen relation to his fate, with—as a phrase in *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* has it—the organism's "wish to die in its own way"? That bitter rebuke had its origin in assumptions that are now archaic. The perception of their inevitable anachronism, of their ever diminishing vitality, was the ground of Nietzsche's revulsion from the developing modern culture. Nietzsche dreaded the "weightlessness of all things," the inauthenticity of experience, which he foresaw would be the consequence of the death of God. Hence his celebration of *amor fati* and of what he called the "energizing pessimism" of the Greeks in their great day.

IT NEED scarcely be said that *Civilization and Its Discontents* receives scant welcome from the dominant intellectual culture of the present time. Its view that life in civilization is largely intractable to reasonable will is profoundly alien to the prevailing ideology. Its informing ethos cannot fail to offend the established moral sensibility. The nature of the affront it offers is suggested by its very title. Freud thought first of calling the book *Das Unglück in der Kultur*, "Unhappiness in Civilization"; this he changed to the present title, *Das Unbehagen in der Kultur*, and suggested that this be translated as "Man's Discomfort in Culture"; he assented to the phrase by which the book is now known in English. "Unhappiness" which is a "discomfort" or a "discontent"—the understatement proposes a firm acceptance of life, of death, and of the developed mode of existence which is yielded by the unremitting dialectic between them, but at the same time a cold eye cast upon all three: an irony of simultaneous commitment and detachment such as is required of Aristotle's large-souled man. So patrician an ethical posture cannot fail to outrage the egalitarian hedonism which at the present time is the educated middle class's salient mode of moral judgment.

A clear index of the distance at which the book, and Freudian theory in general, now stands from contemporary sentiment is the attention and admiration which of recent years have been given to the writings of the English psychiatrist, R. D. Laing. Of the complex psychic dynamics which Freud explicated Dr. Laing takes no account whatever. His theory of mental pathology rules out the possibility of pain being inherent in the processes of the mind, and, indeed, gives but limited credence to any autonomous mental activity. Laing solves the uniquely difficult problem of schizophrenia by assigning to this extreme mental disorder an etiology of ultimate simplicity—schizophrenia, in his view, is the consequence of an external circumstance, an influence exerted upon the psyche, specifically upon the sense of selfhood, of a person who is more disposed than others to yield to it; the schizophrenic person characteristically has what Laing calls an "ontological insecurity," a debility of his sentiment of being. The malignant influence which he fails to withstand commonly masks itself in benevolence, yet its true nature is easily detected, for it is always the same thing, a pressure exerted by society through the agency of the family. It is the family which is directly responsible for the ontological break, the "divided self" of schizophrenia; Laing is categorical in saying that every case of schizophrenia is to be understood as "a special strategy that the patient invents in order to live an unlivable situation," which is always a family situation,

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specifically the demand of parents that one have a self which is not one's true self, that one be what one is not. We may put it that Laing construes schizophrenia as the patient's response to the parental imposition of inauthenticity.

Laing does not say through what conditions there develops, or might develop, the personal being which is really one's own, what are the means by which authenticity is maintained. Although his theory of mental disorder inculpates society in an ultimate degree, he proposes no revision of present societal arrangements by which mental pathology, or the mental impoverishment which he attributes to the state of "normality" in our culture, might be prevented. The only principle for societal action which may be thought to emerge from Laing's impassioned and sometimes brilliant and moving diagnosis of the given state of affairs is wholly and blandly negative—since the self of the infant can maintain its pristine authenticity only if the process of its maturation is self-determined, it follows that we must not give our assent to any form of rearing, education, or socialization in which prescriptive influence has a part.

What Laing tells us about the mind in relation to society is of course not new in any essential way. It is a view to which, in one or another of its intensities, our culture has long been habituated. The inculpation of society has become with us virtually a category of thought. We understand *a priori* that the prescriptions of society pervert human existence and destroy its authenticity. The considerable admiration that is being given to Laing is a response not to the originality of his conception but to its extremity—his inculpation of society comes so near to being absolute that it is experienced as an exhilarating liberation, if not, alas, from the bondage of social necessity, then at least from the duress of its moral authority.

This being so, there will be no ready disposition to give credence to a view of the mind in its relation to society which proposes the idea that authenticity is exactly the product of the prescriptions of society and depends upon these prescriptions being kept in force. Such a view has been advanced, and not by some conservative humanist but by a writer whose own inculpation of society is scarcely mild, by none other than Herbert Marcuse. It is not a view that Marcuse intended to adopt. To all appearance, it forced itself upon him in the course of putting forward a quite opposite view. The contradiction that thus manifests itself in *Eros and Civilization* is confusing when it first turns up, and Marcuse, so far as I can discern, never resolves it, yet the muddle it makes of his argument is to the credit of his honesty.

Eros and Civilization is Marcuse's attempt to bring Marx and Freud into harmony with each other. As its title suggests, it directly confronts the doctrine of *Civilization and Its Discontents*. Like Norman O. Brown, whose *Life Against Death* has certain strong affinities with *Eros and Civilization*, Marcuse holds Freud's book in high regard, and he, like Brown, deals rigorously with the liberal revisionists of Freudian doctrine, such as Erich Fromm, who seek to bring into question the premises of its pessimism. Marcuse, accepting these premises, undertakes to refute the outcome of the argument which Freud develops from them, the conclusion that the structure of the mind cannot be altered or its distress significantly reduced.

MARCUSE's belief in the possibility of a radical change in the mental organization rests upon his claim that quite considerable changes have in fact already taken place in the quarter-century between the publication of *Civilization and Its Discontents* and the composition of *Eros and Civilization*. Advances in technology and developments in the economy, Marcuse says, have reduced the imperative force of material necessity which played so important a part in Freud's account of the development of the mind of man in civilization. As a consequence, the inhibition and constraint which necessity entails are measurably less exigent. The general relaxation of moral restriction has had a discernible effect upon the individual psyche, to the extent of having brought about an alteration of its very structure. The change that Marcuse believes to have already occurred he takes to be the earnest of more momentous changes yet to come. He foresees that the imperative and coercive nature of the super-ego, which he indicates by his terms "surplus repression" and "performance principle," will become obsolete—his projected curve of ensuing mental change points to the end of "alienation," to the realization of the young Marx's envisioned state of freedom in which all human activity is gratuitous.

Marcuse addresses himself specifically and uncompromisingly to the two criteria by which Freud appraises the mental health of an individual, that is to say, his chances of living in civilization with a minimum of unhappiness or with a maximum of compensating gratification. They are the ability to work and the full development of genital sexuality. In both there is doubtless to be discerned a degree, or a kind, of personal liberty. The ability to work presumably implies the desire to work; Freud scarcely had in mind enforced labor, rather a purposive and constructive activity which holds out the promise of satisfaction. And the development of genital sexuality can be said to have succeeded only if it realizes itself in autonomy and pleasure. Yet of course both work and genital sexuality imply a considerable degree of constraint and renunciation. In the present condition of humanity the most freely chosen and best-loved work involves frustration and requires pertinacity and self-discipline. And the develop-

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ment of genital sexuality is an arduous process which fulfills itself only through the renunciation of earlier modes of sexual gratification. Marcuse, whose prophetic range extends to envisaging an eventual triumph over death, or at least over all fear of death, foresees the day when the "performance principle," which came into being at the behest of the super-ego and which at present determines both our conception of work and the imperativeness of the ideal of genital sexuality, will surrender its stern rule. In the spirit of William Blake, Marcuse characterizes the phallus as an agent of alienation and tyranny—Blake calls it "a pompous High Priest" whose insistence that it "enter in at a secret place" denies that the body is holy "in every minute particular." When the infantile sexual impulses, those which Freud calls polymorphous-perverse, are no longer repressed in favor of an exclusive genitality, the circuit of renunciation and guilt will be broken and the death-instinct, which is established in the super-ego, will be deprived of its energy of aggression against the self.

Thus the movement of Marcuse's argument on its way toward the destiny of peace, freedom, and pleasure which has been made feasible by the reduction of material necessity and the cultural constraints it entails.

But, as I have said, at one point in its course the argument diverges into a startling negation of itself. It suddenly is made plain that the relaxation of moral restrictions which is to be observed in the American culture of 1955, when Marcuse wrote, and which is said to license the hope of a redeeming psychic mutation does not in itself give Marcuse any satisfaction. On the contrary, he regards it with a dismay which he explains in considerable detail.

The chief cause of Marcuse's distress is what follows from the alteration of the traditional role of the family, which has become so much less decisive in the rearing of the child that the morphology of the psyche is no longer what Freud described it to be. Marcuse is here far from being disposed to insist on the harm done to the ego by the gratuitous severity, the "surplus repression," of the super-ego as it was classically brought into being by the family. Quite the opposite: his whole concern is with the devolution of the power of the super-ego, which he sees as resulting in a deplorably lowered degree of individuality and autonomy. "Through the struggle with mother and father as the targets of love and aggression," he says, "the younger generation entered societal life with impulses, ideas, and needs which were largely *their own*. Consequently, the formation of the super-ego, the repressive modifications of their impulses, their renunciation and sublimation were very personal experiences. Precisely because of this, their adjustment left painful scars and life . . . still retained a sphere of private non-conformity." But in our contemporary cultural situation, Marcuse says, with the authority of the family, especially of the father, much diminished, the individual's ego "has shrunk to such a degree that the multiform antagonistic processes between id, ego, and super-ego cannot unfold themselves in their classic form." In the present dispensation "the formation of the mature ego seems to skip the stage of individualization," with the result that "the generic atom becomes directly a social atom."

What Marcuse is saying about the development of the individual we have heard before: he means exactly what Rousseau meant when he spoke of the "sentiment of being" which socialization invades and negates. Rousseau's sense of the attenuated sentiment of being of his contemporaries as compared with that of the ancient Spartans, or of the Parisians as compared with that of the Genevans, is paralleled by Marcuse's preference for the personality-type shaped by a relatively repressive society, such as Freud took for granted, as against the personality-type of a later, more permissive day.

Expectably enough, the adverse political implications of reduced individuality are salient for Marcuse. He is apprehensive that, as compared with a traditional society, an affluent, permissive, and pleasure-oriented society controls the individual both more efficiently and more profoundly, and he is constrained to conclude that moral intransigence and political activism are brought into being by renunciation and sublimation. But it is not only for moral and political reasons that Marcuse, in the face of his Utopian commitment, prefers the character-structure shaped by a non-permissive society. His judgment in this matter is in some part directed by what might be called an aesthetic of personality. He *likes* people to have "character," cost what it might in frustration. He holds fast to the belief that the right quality of human life, its intensity, its creativity, its felt actuality, requires the stimulus of exigence. It is a certitude which is in firm accord with the prevailing ethical style of the century in which he was born. In 1819 Keats said in one of his most memorable letters, "Do you not see how necessary a World of Pains and troubles is to school an Intelligence and make it a soul?," that is to say, an ego or self which, as he puts it, is *"destined to possess the sense of Identity."* Freud, as we have seen, in his own wry way imputed to necessity the same developmental function. And Marcuse, in the very act of prophesying the virtual end of necessity, discovers in it a perverse beneficence—upon its harsh imperative depends the authenticity of the individual and his experience.

No doubt there is some Hegelian device which will properly resolve the contradiction between Marcuse's predilection for the strongly defined character-structure that necessity entails and his polemical commitment to a

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Utopia which will do away with necessity. I have not been able to discover that this dialectical ingenuity has been brought into play. The contradiction is allowed to stand, together with the baffling question of how the process of Utopian redemption is guaranteed by its inception in such psychic changes as Marcuse observed in 1955, which issued in a character-structure and a culture which are as deficient in grace as in authenticity.

I have suggested that, by the store which he puts upon a character-structure which is defined and strengthened by the demands of a traditional society, Marcuse sets himself apart from, and at odds with, the prevailing tendency of radical speculation about personal authenticity. The extent of his alienation may be measured by reference to an extreme though characteristic manifestation of this tendency which in recent years has become dramatically salient—the view that insanity is a state of being in which an especially high degree of authenticity inheres.

This remarkable opinion has developed, we may suppose, partly in response to the high and increasing incidence of mental illness in our epoch and the virulence of the form it takes. Some four decades ago psychoanalysts found it possible to observe that the hysterical neuroses with which Freud was concerned in his early practice and theory were giving way to the so-called character neuroses, whose symptoms were less overt and gross, chiefly anxieties and incapacities which, however painful they might be, did not typically have the effect of incapacitating the patient for social life. This lenitive trend of pathology—or of the cognizance of pathology—has now reversed itself toward mental conditions which are more severe than neurosis of any kind. It is not neurosis that now preoccupies the attention of psychiatric theory, including that formulated by laymen, but the far more extreme pathology of psychosis, especially schizophrenia. The Freudian clinical theory is by no means to be written off as irrelevant to schizophrenia but its characteristic therapeutic procedure is not efficacious in the treatment of this psychopathy. As for the Freudian ethos, what I have called its patrician posture of simultaneous acceptance of and detachment from life in civilization makes it patently—and bitterly—inappropriate to the situation of the psychotic person.

Given the magnitude and the terrible pathos of the situation—it has been estimated that one out of every hundred children becomes schizophrenic—and given the inconclusiveness of attempts to locate the etiology of schizophrenia in one or another biological malfunction, it was inevitable that the cause of this grievous pathology should be sought in social factors. It was no less inevitable that, when once this causative connection had been established with any semblance of plausibility, the characterization of society that followed from it should be of an ultimately pejorative kind: society was not to be thought of as civilization's agent exacting for the boon of human development a price that was high yet not finally beyond what the means of the race might afford, but as the destroyer of the very humanity it pretended to foster. What was not inevitable was that this line of thought should issue in the view that insanity is a state of human existence which is to be esteemed for its commanding authenticity.

The position is grounded on two assumptive reasons. One is that insanity is a direct and appropriate response to the coercive inauthenticity of society. That is to say, insanity is not only a condition inflicted by the demands of society and passively endured; it is also an act, expressing the intention of the insane person to meet and overcome the coercive situation; and whether or not it succeeds in this intention, it is at least an act of criticism which exposes the true nature of society—thus interpreted, insanity is said to be a form of rationality and it is society itself that stands under the imputation of being irrational to the point of insanity. The second reason is that insanity is a negation of limiting conditions in general, a form of personal existence in which power is assured by self-sufficiency.

EVEN IF it were still practicable to deal here with this phenomenon of our intellectual culture in the way of analytical argument, it would, I think, be supererogatory to do so. The position is to be characterized as being in an intellectual mode to which analytical argument is not appropriate. This is the intellectual mode that once went under the name of cant. The disappearance of the word from the modern vocabulary is worth remarking. In characterizing the position as I do it is not my purpose to minimize its cultural significance, which, in fact, I take to be momentous.

It was almost though not quite cant that Norman O. Brown uttered when, in his Phi Beta Kappa address at Columbia University in 1960, he spoke of the "blessing" and the "supernatural powers" which he desired to attain and which, he said, came only with madness.* Professor Brown was at pains to specify, with due reference to Socrates in the *Phaedrus* and to Ficino and Nietzsche, that the necessary madness must be "holy" madness. That is to say, when he identified the state of imagination through which the individual escapes his bondage to institutions and to the democratic form of reason which is established in science and, indeed, in language itself, he did not mean literal insanity but only insanity in the virtually metaphorical sense which is commonly signalized by the use of the more genial word "madness" and validated by its ancient provenance.

* "Apocalypse," *Harper's*, May 1961, pp. 46-49.

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But though this is not yet cant, it presses toward becoming that and it makes the way easier for such fully achieved cant as is to be seen in David Cooper's introduction to Michel Foucault's book about the development of the modern conception of madness as a pathology.* Dr. Cooper is a polemical psychiatrist of note, one of Dr. Laing's collaborators. "Madness," he says, "has in our age become some sort of lost truth." "Madness," he goes on, "as Foucault makes so impressively clear in this remarkable book, is a way of seizing *in extremis* the racinating groundwork of the truth that underlies our more specific realization of what we are about. The truth of madness is what madness is. What madness is is a form of vision that destroys itself by its own choice of oblivion, in the face of existing forms of societal tactics and strategy. Madness, for instance, is a matter of voicing the realization that I am (or you are) Christ." So far from being an illness or a deprivation of any kind, madness is health fully realized at last. Laing has a better intelligence and a better prose than Cooper and can therefore be more qualified and complex. In his view it is only "*sometimes*" (the emphasis is his) that "transcendental experiences . . . break through in psychosis" to show their relation "to those experiences of the divine that are the living fount of all religion." Laing distinguishes between "true" madness and such madness as is a "travesty" of healing; only the "true" madness gives rise to transcendental experiences of heuristic value. Yet all psychosis is to be thought of as a process of therapy, not in itself a disease but an effort to cure a disease, and there can be no qualification of the certitude that "true sanity entails in one way or another the dissolution of the normal ego, that false self completely adjusted to our alienated social reality. . . ."

Who that has had experience of our social reality will doubt its alienated condition? And who that has thought of his experience in the light of certain momentous speculations made over the last two centuries will not be disposed to find some seed of cogency in a view that proposes an antinomian reversal of all accepted values, of all received realities?

But who that has spoken, or tried to speak, with a psychotic friend will consent to betray the masked pain of his bewilderment and solitude by making it the paradigm of liberation from the imprisoning falsehoods of an alienated social reality? And who that reads and comprehends the blithe sentences which describe madness (to use the word that cant prefers) in terms of transcendence and charisma will fail to perceive the total refusal of human connection that they express, the appalling belief that human existence is made authentic by the possession of a power, or the persuasion of its possession, which is not to be qualified or restricted by the coordinate existence of any fellow man?

YET THE DOCTRINE that madness is health, and that madness is liberation, receives a happy welcome from a consequential part of the educated public. And when we have given due weight to the likelihood that those who respond positively to the doctrine don't have it in mind to go mad, let alone insane—it is characteristic of the intellectual life of our culture that, in radical psychology as in radical politics, it fosters a form of assent which does not involve actual credence—we must yet take it to be significant of our circumstances that many among us find it gratifying to entertain the thought that alienation is to be overcome only by the completeness of alienation, and that alienation completed is not a deprivation or deficiency but a potency. Perhaps exactly because the thought is assented to so facilely, so without what used to be called seriousness, it might seem that no expression of disaffection from the social existence was ever so desperate as this eagerness to say that authenticity of personal being is achieved through an ultimate isolateness and through the power that this is presumed to bring—the falsities of an alienated social reality rejected in favor of an upward psychopathic mobility to the point of divinity, each one of us a Christ but with none of the inconveniences of interceding, of being a sacrifice, of reasoning with rabbis, of making sermons, of having disciples, of going to weddings and to funerals, of beginning something and at a certain point remarking that it is finished.

* *Histoire de la Folie,* Plon (Paris), 1961; translated by Richard Howard as *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason,* Random House, 1965. (In England the book is published as one of the *Studies in Existentialism and Phenomenology,* of which R.D. Laing is editor.)

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The Limits of Social Policy

Nathan Glazer

THERE is a general sense that we face a crisis in social policy, and in almost all its branches. Whether this crisis derives from the backwardness of the United States in social policy generally, the revolt of the blacks, the fiscal plight of the cities, the failure of national leadership, the inherent complexity of the problems, or the weakening of the national fiber, and what weight we may ascribe to these and other causes, are no easy questions to settle. I believe there is much at fault with the way we generally think of these matters, and I wish to suggest another approach.

The term "social policy" is very elastic. I use it to describe all those public policies which have developed in the past hundred years to protect families and individuals from the accidents of industrial and urban life, and which try to maintain a decent minimum of living conditions for all.* The heart of social policy is the relief of the condition of the poor, and it is in that sense I use the term here.

There are, I believe, two prevailing and antagonistic views of social policy.

One—I will call it the "liberal" view—operates with a model of the social world in which that world is seen as having undergone progressive improvement for, roughly, the past hundred years. The unimproved world, in this view, was the world of early and high industrialism. Market forces prevailed unobstructed, or nearly so. The enormous inequalities they created in wealth, power, and status were added to the still largely unreduced inequalities of the pre-industrial world. This situation, which meant that most men lived in squalor while a few, profiting from the labor of the many, lived in great luxury, was seen by a developing social conscience as both evil and dangerous. It was evil because of the huge inequalities that characterized it and because of its failure to insure a decent minimum at the bottom levels; and it was dangerous because it encouraged the destitute to rebellion against industry and the state. Consequently, in Bismarck's Germany, and somewhat later on in England, conservative states grew worried about rebellion and workingmen began to be protected against complete penury in old age or in times of unemployment through industrial accident and illness; small beginnings were also made in helping them cover some of the costs of medical care. Gradually, such measures of protection were extended to cover other areas like housing, and were made available to broader and broader classes of people.

In the liberal view, then, we have a sea of misery, scarcely diminished at all by voluntary charitable efforts. Government then starts moving in, setting up dikes, pushing back the sea and reclaiming the land, so to speak. In this view, while new issues may be presented for public policy, they are never really new—rather, they are only newly *recognized* as issues demanding public intervention. Thus the liberal point of view is paradoxically calculated to make us feel both guiltier and more arrogant. We feel guilty for not having recognized and acted on injustices and deprivations earlier, but we also feel complacently superior in comparison to our forebears, who did not recognize or act on them at all.

I have given a rather sharp and perhaps caricatured picture of the liberal view. Liberals are of course aware that new needs—and not simply new recognitions of old needs—arise. Nevertheless, the typical stance of the liberal in dealing with issues of social policy is blame—not of the unfortunates, those suffering from the ills that the social policy is meant to remove, but of society, of the political system and its leaders. The liberal stance is: for every problem there is a policy, and even if the problem is relatively new, the social system and the political system must be indicted for failing to tackle it earlier.

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* This definition excludes measures aimed at influencing the entire economic or physical environment, even though such measures certainly have some claim to be considered as falling within the realm of social policy and may well be evaluated in terms of their effect on those vulnerable elements of the population who are the special target of social policy. Education, too, falls increasingly into the sphere of social policy, particularly when it is seen as a means of protecting people from poverty and destitution. The same is true of the control of crime, particularly if we see it as a response to poverty and destitution. I shall, however, exclude both these areas from my discussion.

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There is another element in the liberal view. It sees vested interests as the chief obstacle to the institution of new social policies. One such interest consists simply of those who are better off—those not in need of the social policy in question, who resist it because of the increase in taxes. But other kinds of obstructive interests are also there: real-estate people and landlords in the field of housing, employers subject to payroll taxes in the field of social security, doctors in the field of medical care, and so on.

Despite the assumption here of a conflict pitting liberals against conservatives, I would suggest that the main premises behind this general picture of social policy are today hardly less firmly held by conservatives than they are by liberals. In the American context, conservatives will differ from liberals because they want to move more slowly, give more consideration to established interests, keep taxes from going up too high. They will on occasion express a stronger concern for traditional values—work, the family, sexual restraint. But on the whole the line dividing liberals from conservatives grows steadily fainter. The Family Assistance Program, the major new reform of the welfare system proposed by the Nixon administration, will illustrate my point. Anyone who reads through the Congressional hearings on this proposal will be hard put to distinguish liberals from conservatives in terms of any naive division between those who favor the expansion of social policy and those who oppose it.

It is not only in America that one sees the merging of liberal and conservative views on social policy, and not only today. Bismarck after all stands at the beginning of the history of modern social policy. In the countries of northwest Europe, the differences over social policy between liberals and conservatives are even narrower than they are in this country. In England, very often the issue seems to turn on such questions as what kind of charges should be imposed by the National Health Service for eyeglasses or prescriptions. It was this kind of reduction in the conflicts over basic values in advanced industrial societies that in the 1950's led Raymond Aron and Daniel Bell to formulate their ideas about "the end of ideology." And while in the 1960's all the old ideologies returned to these countries in force, it remains true that ideological battles between major political parties have been startlingly reduced in intensity since World War II.

Having incorporated the conservative point of view on social policy into the liberal, I will go on to the only other major perspective that means much today, the radical. The radical perspective on social policy comes in many variants, but they can all be summed up quite simply: If the liberal, and increasingly the conservative, believes that for every problem there must be a specific solution, the radical believes that there can be no particular solutions to particular problems but only a general solution, which is a transformation in the nature of society itself.

This point of view has consequences, just as the liberal point of view does. If, for example, the conservative proposes a guaranteed annual income of $1,600 for a family of four, and the liberal proposes that the figure be doubled or tripled, the radical will feel quite free to demand an even higher minimum. He knows that his figure is unlikely to be adopted, but he also knows that he can cite this failure as proof of his contention that the system cannot accommodate decent social demands. If, on the other hand, his policy or something like it is taken seriously, he can hope for a greater degree of class conflict as demands that are very difficult to implement are publicized and considered. And even if his policy is implemented, the radical remains firm in his faith that nothing has changed: the new policy is after all only a palliative; it does not get to the heart of the matter; or if it does get to the heart of the matter, it gets there only to prevent the people from getting to the heart of the largest matters of all. Indeed, one of the important tenets of radicalism is that nothing ever changes short of the final apocalyptic revolutionary moment when everything changes.

As against these two perspectives—the one that believes in a solution to every problem, and the other that believes in no solution to any problem save revolutionary change—I want to present a somewhat different view of social policy. This view is based on two propositions:

1) Social policy is an effort to deal with the breakdown of traditional ways of handling distress. These traditional mechanisms are located primarily in the family, but also in the ethnic group, the neighborhood, and in such organizations as the church and the *landsmanschaft*.

2) In its effort to deal with the breakdown of these traditional structures, however, social policy tends to encourage their further weakening. There is, then, no sea of misery against which we are making steady headway. Our efforts to deal with distress themselves increase distress.

I do not mean to suggest any automatic law. I do suggest processes.

One is the well-known revolution of rising expectations. This revolution is itself fed by social policies. Their promise, inadequately realized, leaves behind a higher level of expectation, which a new round of social policy must attempt to meet, and with the same consequences. In any case, by the nature of democratic (and perhaps not only democratic) politics, again and again more must be promised than can be delivered. These promises are, I believe, the chief mechanisms in educating people to higher expectations. But they are, of course, reinforced by the enormous impact of mass literacy, the mass media, and expanding levels of education. Rising ex-

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pectations continually enlarge the sea of felt and perceived misery, whatever may happen to it in actuality.

Paralleling the revolution of rising expectations, and adding similarly to the increasing difficulties of social policy, is the revolution of equality. This is the most powerful social force in the modern world. Perhaps only Tocqueville saw its awesome potency. For it not only expresses a demand for equality in political rights and in political power; it also represents a demand for equality in economic power, in social status, in authority in every sphere. And just as there is no point at which the sea of misery is finally drained, so, too, is there no point at which the equality revolution can come to an end, if only because as it proceeds we become ever more sensitive to smaller and smaller degrees of inequality. More important, different types and forms of equality inevitably emerge to contradict each other as we move away from a society of fixed social orders. "From each according to his abilities, to each according to his need"; so goes one of the greatest of the slogans invoked as a test of equality. But the very slogan itself already incorporates two terms—"abilities" and "needs"—that open the way for a justification of inequality. We live daily with the consequences of the fact that equal treatment of individuals does not necessarily lead to "equality" for groups. And we can point to a host of other contradictions as well which virtually guarantee that the slogan of "equality" in any society at all will continue to arouse passions and lead to discontent.

But in addition to the revolution in rising expectations and the revolution of equality, social policy itself, in almost every field, creates new and, I would argue, unmanageable demands. It is illusory to see social policy only as making an *inroad* on a problem; there are dynamic aspects to any policy, such that it also *expands* the problem, *changes* the problem, *generates* further problems. And for a number of reasons, social policy finds it impossible to deal adequately with these new demands that follow the implementation of the original measures.

The first and most obvious of these reasons is the limitation of resources. We in this country suffer from the illusion that there is enough tied up in the arms budget to satisfy all our social needs. Yet if we look at a country like Sweden, which spends realtively little for arms—and which, owing to its small size, its low rate of population growth, and its ethnic homogeneity, presents a much more moderate range of social problems than does the United States—we will see how even the most enlightened, most scientific, least conflict-ridden effort to deal with social problems leads to a tax budget which takes more than 40 per cent of the Gross National Product. And new items are already emerging on Sweden's agenda of social demands that should raise that percentage even higher. For example, at present only a small proportion of Swedes go on to higher education. Housing is still in short supply and does not satisfy a good part of the population. And presumably Swedish radicals, growing in number, are capable of formulating additional demands, not so pressing, that would require further increases in taxation—if, that is, any society can go much beyond a taxation rate of 40 per cent of its Gross National Product.

In this country, of course, we still have a long way to go. By comparison with Sweden and with other developed nations (France, West Germany, and England) our taxes are still relatively low, and there is that huge 8 per cent of the GNP now devoted to arms and war that might be diverted, at least in part, to the claims of social policy. But social demands could easily keep up with the new resources. We now spend between 6 and 7 per cent of the GNP on education, and about as much on health. It would be no trick at all to double our expenditures on education, or on health, simply by taking account of proposals already made by leading experts in these fields. We could with no difficulty find enormous expenditures to make in the field of housing. And quite serious proposals (I believe they are serious) are now put forward for a guaranteed minimum income of $6,500 for a family of four, with no restrictions.

My point is not that we either could not or should not raise taxes and use the arms budget for better things. It is that, when we look at projected needs, and at the experience of other countries, we know that even with a much smaller arms budget and much higher taxes, social demands will continue to press on public resources. And we may suspect that needs will be felt then as urgently as they are now.

A SECOND limitation on the effectiveness of social policy is presented by the inevitable professionalization of services. Professionalization means that a certain point of view is developed about the nature of needs and how they are to be met. It tends to handle a problem by increasing the number of people trained to deal with that problem. First, we run out of people who are defined as "qualified" (social workers, counselors, teachers, etc.). Second, this naturally creates dissatisfaction over the fact that many services are being handled by the "unqualified." Third, questions arise from outside the profession about the ability of the "qualified" themselves to perform a particular service properly. We no longer—and often with good reason—trust social workers to handle welfare, teachers and principals to handle education, doctors and hospital administrators to handle health care, managers to handle housing projects, and so on. And yet there is no one else into whose hands we can entrust these services. Experience tells us that if we set up new agencies it will be only a very few years before a new professionalism

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emerges which will be found limited and untrustworthy in its own turn. So, in the poverty program, we encouraged the rise of community-action agencies as a way of overcoming the bad effects of professionalism, and we already find that the community organizers have become another professional group, another interest group, with claims of their own which have no necessary relation to the needs of the clients they serve.

The third limitation on the effectiveness of social policy is simply lack of knowledge. We are in the surprising position of knowing much more than we did at earlier stages in the development of social policy—more about income distribution, employment patterns, family structure, health and medical care, housing and its impact, etc.—and simultaneously becoming more uncertain about what measures will be most effective, if effective at all, in ameliorating pressing problems in each of these areas. In the past, there was a clear field for action. The situation demanded that something be done; whatever was done was clear gain; little as yet was expected; little was known, and administrators approached their tasks with anticipation and self-confidence. Good administrators could be chosen, because the task was new and exciting. At later stages, however, we began dealing with problems which were in some absolute sense less serious, but which were nevertheless irksome and productive of conflict. We had already become committed to old lines of policy; agencies with their special interests had been created; and new courses of action had to be taken in a situation in which there was already more conflict at the start, less assurance of success, and less attention from the leaders and the best minds of the country.

Thus, if we look at the history of housing policy, for example, we will see that in the earlier stages—the 20's and 30's—there was a good deal of enthusiasm for this subject, with the housing issue attracting some of the best and most vigorous minds in the country. Since little or nothing had been done, there was a wide choice of alternatives and a supply of good men to act as administrators. In time, as housing programs expanded, the issue tended to fade from the agenda of top government. (Indeed, it has been difficult to get much White House attention for housing for two decades.) Earlier programs precluded the possibilities for new departures, and as we learned more about housing and its effects on people, we grew more uncertain as to what policies—even theoretically—would be best. Housing, like so many other areas of social policy, became, after an initial surge of interest, a field for experts, with the incursions of general public opinion becoming less and less informed, and less and less useful. This process is almost inevitable—there is always so much to know

Perhaps my explanation of the paradox of knowledge leading to less confident action is defective. Perhaps, as the liberal perspective would have it, more knowledge will permit us to take more confident and effective action. Certainly we do need more knowledge about social policy. But it also appears that whatever great actions we undertake today involve such an increase in complexity that we act generally with less knowledge than we would like to have, even if with more than we once had. This is true for example of the great reform in welfare policy—which I shall discuss below—that is now making its way through Congress.

But aside from these problems of cost, of professionalization, and of knowledge, there is the simple reality that every piece of social policy substitutes for some traditional arrangement, whether good or bad, a new arrangement in which public authorities take over, at least in part, the role of the family, of the ethnic and neighborhood group, or of the voluntary association. In doing so, social policy weakens the position of these traditional agents, and further encourages needy people to depend on the government, rather than on the traditional structures, for help. Perhaps this is the basic force behind the ever growing demand for social policy, and its frequent failure to satisfy the demand.

To sum up: Whereas the liberal believes that to every problem there is a solution, and the radical believes that to any problem there is only the general answer of wholesale social transformation, I believe that we can have only partial and less than wholly satisfying answers to the social problems in question. Whereas the liberal believes that social policies make steady progress in nibbling away at the agenda of problems set by the forces of industrialization and urbanization, and whereas the radical believes that social policy has made only insignificant inroads into these problems, I believe that social policy has ameliorated the problems we have inherited but that it has also given rise to other problems no less grave in their effect on human happiness than those which have been successfully modified.

The liberal has a solution, and the radical has a solution. Do I have a solution? I began this discussion by saying that the breakdown of traditional modes of behavior is the chief cause of our social problems. That, of course, is another way of saying industrialism and urbanization, but I put it in the terms I did because I am increasingly convinced that some important part of the solution to our social problems lies in traditional practices and traditional restraints. Since the past is not recoverable, what guidance could this possibly give? It gives two forms of guidance: first, it counsels hesitation in the development of social policies that sanction the abandonment of traditional practices, and second, and perhaps more helpful, it suggests that the creation and building of new traditions must be taken more seriously as a requirement of social policy itself.

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II

A NATION'S welfare system provides perhaps the clearest and severest test of the adequacy of its system of social policy in general. Welfare, which exists in all advanced nations, is the attempt to deal with the distress that is left over after all the more specific forms of social policy have done their work. After we have instituted what in America is called social security (and what may generally be called old-age pensions); after we have expanded it to cover widows, dependent children, and the disabled; after we have instituted a system to handle the costs of medical care, and to maintain income in times of illness; after we have set up a system of unemployment insurance; after we have enabled people to manage the exceptional costs of housing—after all this there will remain, in any industrial system, people who still require special supports, either temporarily or for longer periods of time.

In thus describing the place of welfare, or "public assistance," in a system of social policy, I am of course describing its place in an *ideal* system of social policy. I do not suggest for a moment that our programs of social security, health insurance, unemployment insurance, housing, are as yet fully adequate (though as I understand these matters, even if they were better, they would still not be seen as fully adequate). The strange thing, however, is that even if we go to countries whose systems of social insurance could well serve as models of comprehensiveness and adequacy, we find that the need for welfare or public assistance still remains, and on a scale roughly comparable to our own. In Sweden, the number of persons receiving public assistance was 4.4 per cent of the population in 1959, and it was in the same year less than 4 per cent in America. In England, despite the broad range of social policy there, the number of those on Supplementary Benefits—the English welfare, formerly known as National Assistance—is of the same order of magnitude. In Sweden and England, too, we find concern, though much less than here, over the stigma of welfare, over the effects of a degrading means test, over the problem of second- and third-generation welfare families.

Why, then, do we have, or consider that we have, a greater problem than they do? One reason is that, whereas in Sweden the proportion of those on welfare declines as other forms of social insurance broaden their coverage and become more effective, quite the opposite has happened here. In this country, there has been a rise in the number of people on welfare during the past decade. The rise is not phenomenal—from 4 to 6 per cent of the population. Nor, interestingly enough, despite the increased cost of welfare, does it form a really heavy burden on the budget. The cost of welfare, though rising, still accounts for only a bit more than one per cent of the Gross National Product, and 6 per cent of the federal budget. However, it forms a greater share of state and local revenues, and in some larger cities up to 15 per cent of the population is on welfare. That is one reason it has become a serious problem.

But there are more important reasons. In Sweden and England a high proportion of those requesting public assistance are the aged; in America the aged constitute a smaller proportion of the welfare population, and families a much larger share. Indeed, our increase over the past ten years has been almost entirely concentrated in the family population, those assisted under the federal program called Aid to Families with Dependent Children (ADC). Here the situation is quite startling. In 1955, 30 out of every thousand American children received welfare; by 1969 this had doubled to more than 60 out of every thousand. In New York City, where eligibility has always been broad, and where the city and the state provide welfare to families not covered by the federal statute, the increase has been even more dramatic. In 1960, there were 328,000 persons on welfare in New York City, of whom 250,000 were in the family categories (children and their parents). In 1969, there were 1,012,000—about 12 or 13 per cent of the population—of whom 792,000, or four-fifths, were in the family categories. Yet during the same period, there seems to have been a drop in the number of families in poverty—from 13 to 10 per cent of all families—and the rate of unemployment was halved, from 6 per cent to 3 per cent.

A second reason why welfare is a more serious matter in America than in Sweden or England is that in those countries it is a problem of the backward areas, whereas here it is a problem of the most advanced. A third and final reason is that welfare has come to be seen in America as a *regular* means of *family* support. In England and Sweden welfare is thought of as emergency aid, provided in response to a special crisis, and meant to put a destitute family back on its feet. In America the situation of the destitute family is increasingly considered a more or less permanent condition for which provision over a very long period of time must be made.

WHY should all this be so? One of the most popular explanations to be advanced is that no jobs are available for the men—mainly unskilled—who would ordinarily support these families. In fact, however, unskilled jobs were widely available in the latter part of the 60's, just when the number of families on welfare increased so impressively. It is true that these jobs did not generally pay enough to support a family, but it is also true that large numbers of the urban unemployed were young and unmarried men and women who were not as yet required to support families on their own, though they might well have been capable of contributing to the support of the parental house-

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hold in which they presumably lived. (The majority of American families, as it happens, are supported by two earners, or more.)

There is a modified form of the argument that no jobs are available, which is that since the actually available jobs do not pay enough to support a family, and since there is no way for working husbands to get supplementary assistance, they are encouraged to defect in order to make their families eligible for help. But let us consider the advanced jurisdictions, like New York State, where complete families *are* eligible for support and have been for a long time, and where a working husband *can* have his income supplemented to bring it up to some necessary minimum for the support of his family. It is just in these jurisdictions that we have had the most remarkable increase in the number of families broken up by abandonment. In 1961 there were about 12,000 deserted families on welfare in New York City. In 1968, there were 80,000, a more than sixfold increase during a period when the population of the city, in overall numbers, remained stable. During the same period, there was a more moderate increase in the number of welfare families that consisted of mothers and illegitimate children, from 20,000 to 46,000. In other words, the family welfare population shifted to one overwhelmingly consisting of abandoned women and their children.

Another effort to account for the situation argues that high welfare payments in New York and other Northern cities encouraged migration from the South and from the rural areas. This probably played some role. But there is no evidence that abandoned families in these areas moved to New York in larger numbers in the 60's than in the 50's. And if the abandonment took place in New York, in a brisk job market, we would want to know why it took place, and migration would not be the explanation.

Then there is the view which holds that in the 1960's—with the spread of concern about poverty, with the development of community organizations, and with the rise of such groups as the National Welfare Rights Organization—more and more of the poor discovered their entitlement to welfare, more and more became willing to apply for it, and higher and higher proportions of those applying were accepted. According to this explanation, then, it was not the poor who increased in numbers, but only the poor on welfare. This is undoubtedly part of the story. But think once again of that huge increase in the number of abandoned families on welfare. If there were just as many, or almost as many, before, what did they do to stay alive?

Still another interpretation emphasizes the fact that the levels of welfare aid in New York became higher during the 60's. This would certainly mean that more and more workers could apply for income supplements. But why would it mean a six-and-a-half times increase in the number of abandoned families?

One must take developments in New York seriously because in many respects they can be considered a test run of the Family Assistance Program, the reform in the welfare system proposed by the Nixon administration and still working its way, after various revisions, through Congress. Without going into detail, and leaving aside the fact that welfare would acquire a national floor and a national administration, there are, I believe, four major features that distinguish the Family Assistance Program from the system we have at present.

The most important is that the working poor would be included in the same system as the non-working poor. The reasoning behind this feature is as follows. Welfare levels cannot be raised if people on welfare get as much as, or more than, people who are working. This would first of all lead to political resistance and resentment on the part of the working poor. Further, they would try to redefine themselves as incapable of work in order to get the higher benefits of the non-working poor. If, however, the working poor are also included, their resistance to higher levels of welfare will decline, and they will have less incentive to become non-working.

A second major difference is that a substantial incentive to work is built into the program. Thus, working leads not to the loss of welfare benefits but to an overall increase in the family income. Family Assistance payments are reduced when there is more earned income, but only as a proportion of the increased earnings.

Third, the grant would in part be divorced from services and from the stigma of investigation. It cannot be fully divorced from investigation—it is after all a grant based on need—but the hope is that in its administration it will become more of an impersonal income-maintenance program and less involved in the provision of help through services rather than through money.

A fourth feature of the new law is that, in addition to building in an incentive to work, it contains a *requirement* that everyone capable of work register for job training or for employment. If there is a father, he must register; if there is no father, the mother must register unless she has children still below school age. (This feature has been the target of much criticism, because of the element of compulsion.)

What are we to conclude about the prospects of the new system? Since all four of its features are in large measure already in existence in New York State, whose condition is not exactly of the happiest, we can be sure that Family Assistance will not succeed in "solving" the problems of welfare. What it will do is redistribute more income, and put more money into the pockets of

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the poor. It will raise the abysmally low welfare payments in large areas of the South. It may, by moving some part of the way toward national standards, reduce immigration to the big cities of the North. It will provide some relief—but relatively little—to the states and local jurisdictions that now are heavily burdened with welfare costs. All this is to the good. But what the new system will not do, I believe, is strengthen the family or substantially increase the number of those on welfare willing to enter the labor force. If it does, the accomplishment will be a mystery because similar arrangements have not done so in New York, nor in any of the other states in which families with unemployed males are eligible for welfare, or where a work requirement exists. The forces leading to the breakdown of male responsibility for the family among some of the poor seem greater than those the new program calls into play to counteract them.

This brings us back to my original point, and to a possible answer to the question I posed earlier as to how we can account for the dramatic increase in recent years of abandoned families on welfare. The constraints that traditionally kept families together have weakened. In some groups they may not have been strong to begin with. Our efforts to soften the harsh consequences of family breakup speak well of our compassion and concern, but these efforts also make it easier for fathers to abandon their families or mothers to disengage from their husbands. Our welfare legislation has often been harsh, and its administration harsher. But the steps we take in the direction of diminished harshness must also enhance the attractions of either abandonment or disengagement and encourage the recourse to welfare.

AND YET, what alternatives do we have? This Family Assistance Program is after all the most enlightened and thoughtful legislation to have been introduced in the field of welfare in some decades.

My own tendency, following from the basic considerations I have suggested, would be to ask how we might prevent further erosion of the traditional constraints that still play the largest role in maintaining a civil society. What keeps society going, after all, is that most people still feel they should work—however well they might do without working—and most feel that they should take care of their families—however attractive it might on occasion appear to be to desert them. Consequently we might try to strengthen the incentive to work. The work-incentive provision is the best thing about Family Assistance, but we need to make it even stronger. Our dilemma is that we can never make this incentive as strong as it was when the alternative to work was starvation, or the uncertain charity of private organizations. Nor is it politically feasible to increase the incentive by reducing the levels at which we maintain the poor—if anything, the whole tendency of our thinking and feeling is to raise them, as indeed FAP does. The only alternative, then, is to increase the incentive to work by increasing the attractiveness of work. I do not suggest that this is at all simple (we know the ambiguous results, for example, of raising the minimum wage). Could we, however, begin to attach to low-income jobs the same kind of fringe benefits—health insurance, social security, vacations with pay—that now make higher-paying jobs attractive, and that paradoxically in some form are also available to those on welfare?

The dilemma of income maintenance is that, on the one hand, it permits the poor to live better, but on the other, it reduces their incentive to set up and maintain those close units of self-support—family in the first case, but also larger units—that have always, both in the past and still in large measure today, formed the fabric of society. The administration proposal is a heroic effort to improve the condition of the poor without further damage to those social motivations and structures which are the essential basis for individual security everywhere. But does not the history of our efforts to expand policies of income support suggest that inevitably improvement and damage go together?

In other critical areas of social policy, too, the breakdown of traditional measures, traditional restraints, traditional organization, represents, if not the major factor in the crisis, a significant contribution to it. Even in an area apparently so far removed from tradition as health and medical care, the weakening of traditional forms of organization can be found upon examination to be playing a substantial role, as when we discover that drug addiction is now the chief cause of death—and who knows what other frightful consequences—among young men in New York.

Ultimately, we are not kept healthy, I believe, by new scientific knowledge or more effective cures or even better-organized medical-care services. We are kept healthy by certain patterns of life. These, it is true, are modified for the better by increased scientific knowledge, but this knowledge is itself communicated through such functioning traditional organizations as the school, the voluntary organization, the family. We are kept healthy by having access to traditional means of support in distress and illness, through the family, the neighborhood, the informal social organization. We are kept healthy by decent care in institutions where certain traditionally-oriented occupations (like nursing and the maintenance of cleanliness) still manage to perform their functions. I will not argue the case for the significance of traditional patterns in maintaining health at length here; but I believe it is a persuasive one.

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ONE major objection, among many, that can be raised against the emphasis I have placed on tradition has to do with the greater success of social policy in a country like Sweden which shows a greater departure from traditionalism than America does. And it is indeed true that social services in Sweden, and England as well, can be organized without as much interference from tradition-minded interest groups of various kinds (including the churches) as we have to contend with in this country. Certainly this is an important consideration. But I would insist that behind the modern organization of the social services in the advanced European countries are at least two elements that can legitimately and without distortion be called traditional.

One is authority. Authority exists when social workers can direct clients, when doctors can direct nurses, when headmasters can direct teachers, when teachers can discipline students and can expect acquiescence from parents. Admittedly this feature of traditionalism itself serves the movement *away* from tradition in other social respects. The authority will be used, as in Sweden, to institute sex education in the schools, to insure that unmarried girls have access to contraceptives, to secure a position of equality for illegitimate children.

But then another feature that can legitimately be called traditional—ethnic and religious homogeneity—sets limits in these countries on how far the movement away from the traditional—toward indeed a new tradition—may be carried. In America, by contrast, it is the very diversity of traditions—ethnic, religious, and social—that makes it so hard to establish new forms of behavior that are universally accepted and approved, and that also makes it impossible to give the social worker, the teacher, the policeman, the judge, the nurse, even the doctor, the same authority they possess in more homogeneous countries.

But there is a more basic sense in which tradition is stronger in the countries of Western Europe than here. Whatever the situation with sex education and with the laws governing illegitimacy, divorce is less frequent in Sweden and England, responsibility for the rearing of children is still consistently placed within the family, and the acceptance of work as a normal pattern of life is more widespread and less challenged. In England and Sweden it is still taken for granted that the aim of welfare is to restore a man to a position in which he can work, earn his living, support his family. And indeed the psychological damage that renders a man unfit for work, and the ideology arguing against the desirability of work, are so little known in England and Sweden that the restoration of family independence is a fair and reasonable objective of welfare. But this is no longer a reasonable view of welfare for substantial parts of the American population. It is in this core sense that America has gone further in the destruction of tradition than other countries. In doing so, America comes face to face, more sharply than any other country yet has, with the limits of social policy.

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Building Jerusalem

Hillel Halkin

When the will of the Creator turned to the building of Jerusalem, the mountains came and said: Build Thy city in the mountains with mountains all around it, so that it may be a sign to its inhabitants that they ascend ever upward.

The sea came too and said: A city that is heaven's gate deserves to dwell by the sea, for as the waters of the sea are pure, so shall Jerusalem be pure. Purity should dwell by purity.

The Holy One Blessed Be He built Jerusalem in the mountains with mountains all around it. But to the sea He said: Have patience, for there will come a day when Jerusalem will spread all over the Land of Israel until it reaches the shores of the sea.

—Rabbinic legend

There will come a day when Jerusalem will spread out and rise up and reach as high as the Mercy Seat, and still it will be said: There is not enough room.

—Rabbinic legend

For sheer scale of construction, there hasn't been anything like it since Herod's time. In the alleys of the Jewish Quarter of the Old City, where materials are brought in on donkey back and the stonecutters squat on their haunches and tap at their stone, it could almost be Herod's time, though not in the center of town, where new high-rise office and apartment buildings have punctured a series of holes in the city's once lowly skyline. In the west and southwest, to which the bulk of new housing in Israeli Jerusalem was confined by necessity prior to the 1967 war, whole new streets continue to go up in a seeming matter of months. To the north, across the old armistice line, a giant housing development named after the late Prime Minister Levi Eshkol, the largest of its kind in the country, is nearing completion. Along the city's eastern ridge, where Jerusalem rises spectacularly to meet the desert, another large complex is going up on French Hill, north of Mount Scopus, while on Scopus itself, the old campus of the Hebrew University that was cut off from the Jewish community for twenty years, large-scale renovation and expansion are underway. Finally, to the southeast, on the hill crowned by Government House, once the headquarters of the British High Commissioner and now of the United Nations, ground-clearing work has begun for another massive project which will eventually house some fifteen-thousand inhabitants, according to the recently proposed, and currently much under fire, master plan. The bulldozers first appeared on the hill in midwinter, then vanished for a while after the UN protested what it claimed to be illegal seizure of its property. (In point of fact, the UN's claim would seem shaky, since the land was simply handed down to it by the British in the course of the 1948 fighting without any formal transfer of title ever taking place.) Now they are back again, biting into the limestone to level the terrain and carve out approach roads for the equipment that will follow.

Looking eastward at the site from the house that I rent in the Jewish neighborhood of Talpiot, it is difficult to imagine these fifteen-thousand people and the homes that will contain them. In any case, the view is not likely to be improved by their presence. The house faces out on the old border, as a memento of which it wears a fretwork of machine-gun bullets like a dueling scar over the front terrace. A few feet past the garden a rusty barbed-wire fence marks where the border once passed, beyond which lies an apple orchard in a small valley that was formerly in no-man's-land. At its far end the orchard slopes up to a dusty brown patch where the bulldozers are now at work. Further up the slope to the left the UN flag dangles limply in the summer heat, while framed by palm trees beyond a saddle in the ridge to the right the wilderness of Judea slants barrenly down to the Dead Sea some twelve miles and 4,000 feet of altitude away. The desert air is so clear that on hazeless afternoons one sees not only the blue sea itself with the mountains of Moab behind it etched in perfect relief, but even the reflection in the water of the stone houses on its other, Transjordanian side.

South of the saddle, sturdily chiseled into a hill astride a loop on the old Jordanian road to Bethlehem, is the Arab village of Sur Bahr. Sur Bahr is not technically speaking "occupied ter-

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ritory" because it lay before 1967 within the Jordanian municipality of Jerusalem, which provided the boundaries for what was officially annexed by Israel shortly after the Six-Day War. Many of the men in the village now work as builders in Jerusalem, but shepherds from Sur Bahr still drive their flocks down the narrow path that skirts the apple orchard, and once several village women in embroidered peasant dresses appeared with gunnysacks and scythes at the gate of my garden on a foddering expedition. *Hashish,* they answered when I asked them what inside the gate had caught their fancy, and it took me a moment to recollect that this was simply the Arabic word for green growth. It is unlikely that anyone in Sur Bahr has heard of the master plan or is aware of the fact that immediately to the east of the village it provides for a large industrial zone, which will be ideally located because prevailing westerly winds will carry pollution and noxious smoke off into the desert. (Another project planned for the foot of the village, a football stadium designed to seat thirty-thousand spectators, was recently cancelled when a member of the city council discovered that the slopes overlooking the low-lying playing field would provide free bleachers for all.) In their ignorance of what the future holds in store, however, the villagers are substantially no more in the dark than most Jerusalemites, Arab and Jewish alike, it being a curious feature of the current international debate over planning the city that it has taken place entirely apart from the local inhabitants whose lives it will most directly affect. No public hearings have ever been held on the master plan itself and its contents are not even available on demand to the citizen in the street.

At times there has indeed been an almost military air of security about Israeli plans for developing Jerusalem, especially the Arab sector of the city. Such sensitivity to exposure may well be understandable in face of a world that has so far refused to regard such plans as anything more than an extension of military conquest by architectural means, but it has hardly been conducive to a sober discussion of the urban problems involved. Yet the master plan itself, once one has gotten hold of it, seems nothing if not sober. A team of Israeli planners was originally commissioned in 1964 to draw up a blueprint for the Israeli half of Jerusalem alone. The plan was nearly finished when the 1967 war broke out, but in the aftermath of the war it was completely redrawn to include the city's former Jordanian sector as well. The revised version, whose basic premise is that the city will not again be redivided and will permanently remain under Israeli rule, was presented early in 1969 and has been waiting since then for the final approval by the Jerusalem city council and the appropriate government agencies that is needed to give it legal teeth. Printed in both Hebrew and English editions, the plan contains some fifty closely-spaced pages of text accompanied by a complement of colored maps and statistical tables that attempts to chart the projected economic and physical growth of the city as far as the year 2010, with an intermediate "stopover" in 1985. Two sets of figures indicate at a glance the preoccupations of the master planners. First, an estimate of Jerusalem's future population projects an expected increase from the present figure of 267,000 inhabitants in the actual city (198,000 Jews and 69,000 Arabs) to 400,000 in 1985 (295,000 Jews and 105,000 Arabs) and 600,000 in 2010 (440,000 Jews and 160,000 Arabs), and in the overall metropolitan area, from 380,000 to 600,000 to 900,000 (here the percentage of Arabs is considerably higher, due to the large Arab rural population in the city's environs).* The second set of figures predicts a far more precipitous rise in the number of motor vehicles circulating within the city: from 15,000 at present, the total is expected to jump to 110,000 in 1985, and to somewhere in the neighborhood of 400,000 by 2010. This last estimate is of course based on forecasts of generalized affluence, but it does not seem far-fetched to anyone who has observed the staggering increase of cars on Israeli roads that has taken place in the past few years alone.

THE prospect that Jerusalem will grow in the next several decades from its present size to that of a city no bigger than San Francisco with traffic problems to match may not seem unmanageable to residents of Western metropolises, but it must be borne in mind that the particular beauties, virtues, and amenities of life in Jerusalem, as well as the violent claustrophobia that it has on occasion been known to arouse, have always been those of a distinctly small town. As recently as a few years ago there

* In both cases, the approximate doubling of the Arab population is presumably based on the Palestinian Arab birth rate, which is one of the highest in the world. It is not entirely clear on the other hand what calculations led the planners to predict the doubling by 2010 of the Jewish population, whose growth is in large measure a function of immigration from abroad—unless it was simply an *ex cathedra* judgment that the present parity between the two groups should continue to be maintained. In any case, it is a curious fact that ever since Jews from Eastern Europe and the Levant began settling in Jerusalem in growing numbers in the middle of the 19th century, the population of the city has more or less doubled every thirty to forty years: in 1844 it was in the neighborhood of 15,000, of which 7,000 were Jews; in 1876, 25,000, of which 12,000 were Jews; in 1905, 60,000, of which 40,000 were Jews; and in 1940, 157,000, of which 95,000 were Jews. There is thus some irony in the fact that the one city in Palestine that had a Jewish majority even before the onset of Zionist colonization is now the one city in Palestine that has become a symbol of Zionist usurpation in the eyes of much of the world.

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were practically no two points in the Israeli sector of the city that couldn't comfortably be spanned in an hour's walk, to say nothing of the Arab half, which was far smaller. Between the two, of course, one couldn't walk at all, so that for all practical purposes they might have been as far apart as the Jerusalems of heaven and earth of rabbinic legend, yet rather than heighten one's sense of physical distance this only served to diminish it still further by giving the space in between a mirage-like quality that was not of this corruptible world. It is difficult to describe the particular combination of resignation, longing, and unreasonable hope with which one looked out in those years from the Israeli side at the impenetrable Ottoman ramparts of the Old City, or clambered up strange rooftops in pursuit of a glimpse of the golden mosque or the paving stones of the Temple Mount, or strained to catch the grinding of a bus's gears on its way to Bethlehem or Jericho or the braying of a donkey from within the Old City walls. (One Yom Kippur it was reported that someone had heard the mysterious echo of a *shofar* blast from the Wailing Wall, and a *frisson* ran through the Jewish city for days.) And because one knew, or imagined, that on the other side there were Arabs looking back with a similar mixture of emotions at houses they had once lived in and neighborhoods that had been their own, the entire city seemed to shrivel into one concentrated symbol of loss, as though it were not space at all that was dividing it from itself but something more cruel and final—time perhaps, or eternity. It was this that gave Jerusalem in those years a certain exquisite poignancy that was not among the least of its charms.

Still, it is not now among the most mourned. For better or for worse, the city is bigger now, livelier and less unworldly, certainly more complicated, and ultimately perhaps more tragic too. There is less honeysuckle and jasmine in the air these days and a great deal more exhaust. Jerusalem is no longer a border outpost, the last stop at the dead end of a mountain road, but is again at the natural crossroads of Palestine where geography meant it to be. It is at other kinds of crossroads, too, where fateful questions are being posed. One of these of course is whether the city's conquered Arab community can establish some sort of tolerable long-term relationship—one certainly not based on an excess of love, but on a measure of mutual respect perhaps, and, above all, on an absence of ghettoization—with a Jewish majority that is currently three times its size and politically its master. Another question is whether the city's own justly fabled and particularly fragile beauty can survive the postwar boom that has now enveloped it and in whose grip it is likely to remain for an indefinite time to come. Fragile, because it rests on a delicate play of finely calibrated opposites: of the "Old" city and the "New," of course, but equally of mountain and valley, stone and sky, red roof and green pine, horizontally massed houses and vertical landmarks, closed space and open space, narrow lanes and sudden vistas, main streets and hidden neighborhoods set directly off of them—each a self-enclosed island of one- and two-story buildings with a name, a history, an ethnic origin and composition, an architectural character, and perhaps a fanaticism of its own. It is precisely such precarious balances that are most defenseless in the face of rapid growth with its customary livery of soaring real-estate values, urban "renewal," high-rise buildings, look-alike developments, suburban sprawl, and unchecked vehicle proliferation, all of which have already scarred the city's visage more than one sometimes cares to admit and all of which yet threaten to ravage it completely.

It is to the credit of the master plan that it makes no attempt to dismiss such dangers out of hand and seriously proposes to combat a number of them. On the whole, however, one comes away from it with the impression that the planners have been too ready to write off some of the city's most unique qualities as the inevitable price of progress. Basically, they have provided for the following:

1) The walled Old City is to be scrupulously preserved in its present form and its Jewish Quarter, largely ruined in the 1948 fighting, will be rebuilt as far as possible in its original style. The area immediately surrounding the Old City, including the Mount of Olives in the east and the Arab village of Silwan, the biblical Shiloah, to the south, will be incorporated into a national park in which a minimum of further construction will be allowed. Where the building line begins, it will be kept deliberately low, so as not to dwarf the Old City in size. (This section of the plan owes much to the original British master plan of 1918, and its subsequent revisions, which paid special attention to the safeguarding of the Old City and the religious sites in and around it. Another feature of the current plan deriving from Mandatory times is the provision that all future buildings in the city be faced with stone. The fact that both Israel and Jordan continued in large measure to observe such British regulations between 1948 and 1967 did much to help preserve the visual unity of the city during its two decades of separation.)

2) The present Arab and Jewish business districts, which are located to the north and northwest of the Old City respectively, will be encouraged to grow toward each other and eventually to merge. The effect of this will be both to keep the downtown area compact and to promote the mingling of Arab and Jewish populations in an

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essentially "neutral" commercial area. On the other hand, there will be no deliberate attempt to integrate Arab and Jewish residential neighborhoods, which for the foreseeable future can be expected to remain distinct, though often in close physical proximity.

3) Where outward growth of the city occurs, it will be encouraged to take place equally in all directions in order to preserve the centrality of the present city core. In effect this means that Jerusalem will spread mainly along the north-south mountain spine on which it sits in the directions of Ramallah and Bethlehem—in each case approaching the present border between "annexed" and "occupied" territory—as well as to a lesser extent eastward into the desert, where industrial zones will be built. At the same time, however, the plan seeks to prevent excessive sprawl and the familiar worldwide pattern of inner-city decay and creeping suburbanization that is already in a relatively advanced stage even in Tel Aviv. To maximize concentration within the present city core and keep large parts of it from becoming depopulated slums, the plan decrees that the older parts of the Jewish "New" city—that is to say, practically the entire area built up west of the Old City walls from the 1860's until after World War II—will be gradually torn down and replaced by modern apartment houses of up to seven stories on a gridiron pattern of streets. A few of the more historic or attractive of the old Jewish neighborhoods will be renovated and preserved. Since future restriction of motor traffic into and within the city was deemed by the planners to be impracticable, it will be necessary to accommodate this flow by the construction of extensive parking areas, some of them underground, and of a number of expressways cutting directly through the city.

In effect, therefore, it is the area of Jerusalem over whose future in Israeli hands the world has professed greatest concern—the Old City and its environs—which stands to be most painstakingly protected by the master plan. In part no doubt this reflects a certain sensitivity to world opinion on the planners' part, though less so probably than to purely local sentiments about a physical site that has been enshrined after all in the Jewish consciousness far more than in the world's. No doubt, too, the decision to preserve the Old City area *in toto* was facilitated by the fact that it is relatively easy to isolate a walled enclave from its urban surroundings and to treat it as a problem in itself. When it comes to the Jewish "New" city, on the other hand, the planners seem to have more compliantly deferred to the "unavoidable" urban processes and their conventional resolutions, neither of which has been especially kind to historic cities elsewhere: demolition of old neighborhoods rather than renovation, letting real-estate values determine land functions instead of vice versa; widening and rerouting streets to accommodate traffic rather than restricting traffic to accommodate streets. In the course of the next several decades, should the plan become operative, the wreckers will be loosed not only on most of the old Jewish quarters first built outside of the Old City during Ottoman times—many of which have admittedy degenerated today into little more than slums, like Nahlaot, Mekor Baruch, Sha'arei Hesed, Nahlat Shivah, and others—but even on currently wealthy and fashionable areas like Talbieh and Rehavia which date from the period of the British Mandate—all presumably to be replaced by rows of standard houses which no matter how well-designed will have none of the extraordinary variety and palpable history of the areas to be torn down. Moreover, the planners themselves admit that even such an approach will not sufficiently raise the density of the inner city to prevent Jerusalem from spreading outward and engulfing some of the loveliest Jewish and Arab villages of the Judean hills. These new residential areas in turn will pour daily commuter traffic back into the city in quantities capable of clogging the widest of the wide new streets to be built. In effect, faced with the classic problem of building up or building out, the planners have chosen the classic solution of an honorable compromise between the two. It may well be that in the bargain they have opted for the benefits of neither and the disadvantages of both.

THE feeling that the Jerusalem of the master plan is headed for precisely the urban morass from which most large cities of the Western world are now struggling, with little noticeable success, to extricate themselves dominated the conference of architects and town planners who met here last winter at the invitation of Mayor Kollek to discuss the plan and—so the conference's sponsors evidently hoped—give it their professional imprimatur. The panel, which was officially named the Jerusalem Committee and included an impressive array of world-famous figures in the urban field, did nothing of the sort. Instead, at a three-day session, parts of which were open to the public, it attacked the plan with a savagery that seemed to take even its severest local critics by surprise. "Collective hara-kiri," it was called by one participant in a moment of high spleen, and though his fellow panelists were on the whole more restrained, they seemed to agree that rather than having learned from the mistakes of decaying large cities everywhere, the authors of the master plan seemed determined to repeat them. The members of the committee were particularly critical of the plan's permissive attitude toward private cars, which, they repeatedly stressed, had already strangled life in some of the fairest of European and American cities. The con-

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ference ended on a sour note, the panelists wearily insisting that it was still not too late to make Jerusalem an urban light unto the nations, the master planners testily replying that they did not see why Israelis should be asked to be guinea pigs or behave any differently from city dwellers elsewhere. After three days of argument one panelist confessed to feeling "desperate and frustrated"; another reportedly broke into tears in his hotel room. Visibly shaken, Mayor Kollek announced at the conference's close that the committee's recommendations would be taken into account in preparing a revised plan, which he hoped could be presented to the panel at some future date.

Yet if the panelists were unanimous that the master plan spelled urban disaster, they were less so on how urban disaster is to be warded off. Indeed, as soon as they stopped attacking the plan itself, there was little they could agree on at all. One suggested that congestion within the city center could be avoided by building a high-speed railway to Tel Aviv, where Jerusalemites could do their shopping; another, that the solution lay in providing each of Jerusalem's neighborhoods with a shopping nucleus of its own; a third, that it was foolish to oppose congestion in the first place, since "we build inner cities because we love to be together." It was cogently argued that the downtown business area should be placed as close to the Old City as possible to preserve the latter's central location, and equally cogently that it should be as far from the Old City as possible to keep the latter out of the shadow of the skyscrapers that downtown real-estate values inevitably entail. Mayor Kollek was urged to preserve as many of Jerusalem's old neighborhoods as he could because their narrow lanes served as perfect anti-car barriers, and to "think big" like Pope Sixtus V, who was not afraid to cut main traffic arteries through the cramped quarters of Renaissance Rome. The question was raised why a city that had gotten along for three thousand years with a minimum of industry should suddenly need more now; it was also asked how a city of close to one million people could possibly support itself without considerably more industrialization than the master plan seemed to project. Some panelists felt that the plan allowed Jerusalem to spread too far laterally because it did not provide for a sufficient vertical rise within the present city core to absorb the projected population growth; others that the city should keep its low profile and be allowed to spread out naturally over the surrounding hills. Perhaps the only fully consistent position was that of a well-known American urban historian who did not appear at the conference in person—he had never yet been to Jerusalem, in fact, though he hoped one day to visit it—but who sent his written opinion that the city should not be allowed to grow any more at all. On the basis of his studies, he wrote, he had come to the conclusion that the maximum optimal size for a modern city, beyond which it tended to become progressively unworkable, was a population of somewhere between three and four hundred thousand—a figure whose upper limits Jerusalem will surpass within a decade if its current rate of growth continues.

Assuming even that it were both urbanly feasible and desirable, however, the prospect of a Jewish government deliberately curbing Jerusalem's growth now that the undivided city is again in Jewish hands for the first time since the year 70 is remote. If anything, the government is more likely to act in the opposite direction, as it was recently urged to do by a leading cabinet minister who proposed that two hundred thousand new immigrants be settled in the city in the next five years alone to strengthen its Jewish character. (In effect, the government is even now actively encouraging settlement in Jerusalem through its sponsorship of public housing and the higher mortgages it offers to immigrants there, though it can be argued that such measures merely serve to offset the tremendous price of real estate now prevailing in the city.) Such a massive influx would of course mean the master plan's wholesale abandonment, though even in its absence the latter's population projections seem quite low. Already today immigration is steeply up from what it was when the plan was drawn up, and if the 15 per cent to 20 per cent of new immigrants who are now choosing to settle in Jerusalem continue to do so in the future, the plan's demographic assumptions may be far off the mark. Equally uncertain are its geographic assumptions, for who can now say with any degree of confidence what in another five, ten, or twenty years the city's relationship will be with the hill country of the ex-Jordanian West Bank to its north and south, an area which historically has always been its natural hinterland? One can accept at face value Israeli assertions that a border will never run through the city again, but whether one will run near it, and if so, what manner of border it will be, are less easily answered questions. When one considers indeed that the two basic parameters with which all urban planners must work, future population and the area into which it can expand and to which it will be economically linked, are in the case of Jerusalem at the mercy of highly unpredictable unknowns, one might well ask whether it is possible rationally to plan the city's future very far ahead at all, much less over a period of the next forty years.

IN ANY CASE, the master plan has now been recommitted for "further study," from which it may or may not re-emerge to see the light of day. In the meantime, the sole document currently regulating development in Jerusalem is the previous Israeli master plan of 1959,

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whose applicability to present circumstances is limited. The result is that the city has come to resemble an arena in which contractors, realtors, investors, government agencies, the municipality, and a small citizens' lobby called the Society for a Beautiful Israel tilt at each other literally and figuratively over the heads of the general public. Hardly a week goes by without its scare of some new colossus that will disfigure this or that of the city's ultimately exhaustible panoramas, and if many of these rumors prove to be nothing more, others are eventually writ large in concrete. This is not to say that everything going up in Jerusalem today is ugly or misplaced—on the contrary, much of it is undeniably attractive by any standards, to say nothing of those generally prevailing in Israel, which can display some appalling urban landscapes for a country so young. Yet the city's hilly topography makes it impossible to conceal blunders that could easily go unnoticed in most places. A classic example of this is French Hill, where a cluster of tall, coffin-shaped buildings that would be merely tiresome elsewhere has permanently marred the skyline of the northeastern quadrant of the city. Another such fatal error may be in the offing on the slopes of nearby Mount Scopus, where the Ministry of Tourism has been promoting a syndicate of American investors who wish to put up a high-rise hotel on land owned by the Hebrew University. This latter project, however, has aroused considerable opposition in advance and may yet be canceled or scaled down.

Less successful have been attempts to stop building at Nebi Samwil, a hillside several miles northwest of Jerusalem on whose summit stands a mosque, formerly a medieval synagogue, whose doubtful claim it is to occupy the burial site of the prophet Samuel. At almost 3,000 feet above sea level, Nebi Samwil is one of the highest peaks in the Jerusalem area, and though the current boundary between "occupied" and "annexed" territory runs only halfway up its slope, the government clearly intends to retain the upper half as well. To lend weight to this decision it expropriated a tract of Arab-owned land on the hillside about a year ago, and then asked the Ministry of Housing to build a standard Israeli *shikkun*, or housing project, there which would ultimately contain close to ten-thousand dwelling units—this in flat contradiction to the master plan, which had proposed that the site not be built on at all until 1985 and then only for a limited number of single-family houses. The government's plan was challenged by the city of Jerusalem, which argued that the project would not only deface a prominent landmark that dominates the main approach to Jerusalem from Tel Aviv but would require an enormous outlay of municipal funds for the provision of roads, public transportation, schools, and other services that could not be justified by any rational order of priorities, since Nebi Samwil's future residents could just as well live closer to the city. A public uproar developed and several architects working on the project resigned. Prospects for halting construction at Nebi Samwil seemed fairly bright, in fact, until the American State Department inopportunely joined the proceedings last spring by issuing a condemnation of the project's annexationist aims. The response on the Israeli side was immediate. Mayor Kollek announced that in view of the American action he felt compelled to withdraw his objections to the plan, which was promptly approved without a dissenting vote at the next meeting of the city council. Preliminary work at Nebi Samwil is now underway, though the ultimate dimensions of the project remain uncertain.

QUITE apart from the predictable tendency to close ranks in the face of criticism from abroad, it is still next to impossible to convince most Israelis, whether officials or people in the street, that building houses for Jews in the Land of Israel is not by definition a virtue that is its own reward. Throughout the history of modern Jewish settlement in Palestine, after all, to build has always been first and foremost a political act, a means of asserting national title to disputed land, and only secondarily an architectural undertaking with demands of its own. So it was in Ottoman times, when Turkish law decreed that once even a Jewish house had a roof overhead no power on earth had the authority to tear it down; so it was under the Mandate, when entire prefabricated settlements were erected overnight to present the British with a *fait accompli* in the morning; so it was in the years after 1948, when thousands of immigrants were settled in development towns that were hastily built in former Arab areas with little regard for whether anyone cared to live in them or whether they made any urban sense at all; and so it seems to many today in Jerusalem, where once again the world seems determined to deny what appears in Jewish eyes to be the most obviously legitimate of claims. It hardly needs to be argued that without such an ideology of "establishing facts," to use the common Hebrew expression, there would have been no Jewish state at all; yet the question must be asked—and it is now in fact being asked by an increasing though still small number of Israelis—whether such a build-first-and-ask-questions-later approach to development has not in the present day and age become an anachronism whose dubious political benefits are more than outweighed by the certain environmental loss involved in hurried planning and poor execution. Indeed, the debate now taking place over the physical future of Jerusalem marks the first time that an essentially environmental versus political issue of this kind has reached and apparently held the interest of a

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sizable segment of the Israeli public. As such, regardless of its outcome, the battle for Jerusalem may yet signify something of a turning point in the country's life.

Yet if building has its problems, so does preservation. The one large renovation project that has been undertaken in Jerusalem so far is in Yemin Moshe, a quaint little quarter of low stone houses and cobblestone streets and stairs that hangs on the western lip of the Valley of Gehennom directly across from the Old City walls. When it was built in the 1860's with the help of a large donation from Sir Moses Montefiore, it was the only group of houses outside the Old City at all, to the safety of which its first inhabitants retreated nightly despite Sir Moses's offer to pay them negative rent if they would only stay put. By Mandatory times Yemin Moshe was a neighborhood that had already seen better times, and after 1948, when it bordered on a strip of no-man's-land and faced into the guns of the Arab Legionnaires on the ramparts opposite, it became a badly neglected slum whose absentee landlords rented out their apartments to Ladino-speaking immigrants from Turkey and the Balkans. Plans were afoot to rehabilitate the area even before 1967, when there was talk of turning it into an artists' quarter; meanwhile, however, the Six-Day War broke out, and when it was over Yemin Moshe had suddenly become a valuable piece of property located at the heart of the reunified city with a magnificent view of the now Legionless walls. Land values and renovation costs soared, and it soon became apparent that the artists would be a minority among the wealthy Israelis and Jews from abroad who could afford to buy and restore one of the quarter's old stone houses.

The chief grievance in Yemin Moshe today, however, is not the artists' but the old tenants', who claim that they are being asked to leave their homes in exchange for a pittance of relocation money that will not enable them to buy anything elsewhere at current Jerusalem prices and that is but a fraction of what the vacated houses are being sold for to the rich. The renovators argue for their part that the tenants are if anything getting more than they deserve, since they are not the owners of the property to begin with, and that to raise the level of compensation any further would render prohibitive the already steep prices of the modernized units. Some of the old tenants have taken what was offered them and left; others hang on in the hope of something better, and the walls of the quarter are scrawled with crudely-lettered Hebrew signs like "We Will Not Be Forced Out," which might make the casual tourist think that he is indeed in occupied Jerusalem. Presumably a compromise will be struck, but it is clear that renovation predicated on eviction can hardly serve as a model for similar undertakings in the future.

It is as much as anything the exorbitant cost of buying an apartment in Jerusalem today (a problem compounded by the fact that the rental system is practically unknown in Israel) that has made the city the focus of the loose organization of young Jews of "Oriental" backgrounds that has recently sprung up under the somewhat macabre name, all circumstances considered, of the "Black Panthers." Viewed in the context of past ethnic protest movements in Israel, "Black Pantherism" is far from a new phenomenon: there has been, on and off, a series of small "Sephardic Power" political parties in the country since the early 1950's, none of them very successful, and the Wadi Salib riots in Haifa in 1959 were certainly far bloodier than the violent demonstrations in Jerusalem last spring. Even the name "Black Panthers" is less indicative of any radical or Third World trend among young Israeli have-nots than it is of the intensely imitative and consumer-oriented phase through which the country is currently passing, in which any product bearing a foreign, or better yet, an American-sounding name, enjoys an automatic advantage. This is not to say, of course, that the "Panthers" needn't be taken seriously. The fact remains that while the situation has in some respects improved considerably in the last decade, the great majority of Jews at the bottom of the socioeconomic ladder in Israel are still of non-European origin, and that though they may encounter little or no direct discrimination of the kind practiced on minorities elsewhere (and often on Arabs here), the basic machinery of Israeli society continues in many ways to work against them. If Jerusalem, which has the highest percentage of such Jews of any major city in Israel, as well as the highest percentage of families living on welfare and in substandard housing, has been spared such outbursts in the past, it is perhaps because being a city of shopkeepers, civil servants, and professionals with hardly any rich business class to speak of, it has been relatively free of the kinds of conspicuous wealth that can embitter the poor more than poverty itself. This continues to be true in many areas today, but housing is no longer one of them. It is now almost impossible to buy a new, two-bedroom apartment anywhere in the city for less than 100,000 Israeli pounds (about $35,000), and when one reflects that this is close to ten times the annual income before taxes of the average Israeli worker, who cannot even look forward to receiving the 50,000-pound government mortage that is available to every new immigrant, it is clear that most local residents are completely priced out of the building boom that they see all around them. The "Panthers" are a natural response to such a situation.

If there has been any principal beneficiary of the building boom besides the contractors, it has been Jerusalem's Arabs, who along with Arab la-

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bor from the West Bank now constitute nearly all of the city's construction force. This has not come about so much because Arab labor is cheaper than Jewish—on the whole, wherever it is legally employed and subject to government regulation, it is not—but because Jewish labor is simply not available, the result of a by now chronic shortage of working hands in the Israeli economy that stands in dramatic contrast to the severe unemployment of the middle 1960's. One can ponder the ironies of a reunified Jerusalem under Jewish control being built by Arab workers; one can wonder about the long-term implications of Israel's growing dependence on Arab labor not only in construction but in other fields as well; yet in the short run one would be hard-pressed to deny that the sudden demand for new building in Jerusalem and the equally sudden availability of a labor force to perform it—both direct outcomes of the Six-Day War—have been a happy conjunction, most of all for the Arabs themselves. The majority of Arabs employed in the building trades in Jerusalem are unskilled or semi-skilled workers who in Jordanian times never lived far above subsistence level. They are not getting rich today either, but they are probably earning more, living better, and enjoying greater economic security than ever before. A recent Israeli study indicates that whereas prices in East Jerusalem have risen by close to 50 per cent since the war, wages among manual workers have more than doubled, and this seems to be a fairly accurate assessment of the increase in purchasing power of a large part of the poorer Arab population, which is in addition now benefiting from such things as medical and unemployment insurance which were never provided by the Jordanians.

Thus, at a time when the economic stratification of Israeli society as a whole is increasing greatly, East Jerusalem may be the one place in the country where it is actually decreasing, for if the Arab workingman is economically better off than he was before the war, the Arab middle class is probably not. Worst hit have been white-collar workers and professionals, the first because they were largely employed by the Jordanian government, the second because they find it difficult to compete with their Israeli counterparts, who are often on a higher level of competence and have the additional advantage of knowing their way about in a society where personal connections can often make all the difference. Because these are the groups that have in recent years provided the elite of the Arab community in Jerusalem, and who continue today to represent it in its external dealings, they have perhaps succeeded in conveying to the world at large a gloomier picture of economic conditions in the Arab sector of the city than in fact prevail. I was talking not long ago to an Arab businessman who was reciting the standard litany of complaints against the "occupation," as it is still universally called in East Jerusalem: Israeli prices and taxes were outrageously high; they channeled all the tourist trade to their own people and left only the crumbs for the Arab guides and hotels; the Israeli way of doing things was too fast-paced and aggressive for Arabs to adjust to; ultimately the two life-styles were simply not compatible and it would be better for all concerned if the city were to be politically redivided. I inquired whether it wasn't true nonetheless that the lot of many poor Arabs had materially improved. Well yes, but I had to understand that there were never many poor Arabs in Jerusalem to begin with. That was just an Israeli myth. There were only five-thousand ordinary laborers in all of Arab Jerusalem. But according to statistics I had seen, I said, that was nearly half of the entire Arab work force! Well yes, perhaps. He would have to check his figures. But in any case, what did it matter? As long as the occupation continued. . . .

BUT there are indications that the Arab community may be slowly arriving at the conclusion that the occupation has come to stay. There is no point in making too much of such things, yet they are perhaps not altogether devoid of significance: the disappearance in the last year of the periodic demonstrations and shutdowns that annually commemorated the "black days" of the Palestinian calendar—the anniversaries of the Balfour Declaration, the UN partition vote, the Six-Day War—the new Hebrew signs that one notices in the shop windows each time one visits the Old City, the increasing numbers of Arabs who are entering into business relationships or even partnerships with Jews. Ask a Jerusalem Arab and he will reply with a shrug that one has to live, and that, in any case, the final disposition of the city is quite out of his hands and will be ultimately decided elsewhere —in Cairo, in Amman, in Washington, in Moscow, by the Israelis. There is a bottomless anger in this acknowledgment of the powerlessness that has come to be the central trauma of Palestinian existence, but there is also perhaps a faintly noticeable sense of relief that when the bitter day comes on which the loss of Jerusalem must be publicly admitted by the Arab world, the hand that signs the treaty will not be one's own. One cannot be an Arab in Jerusalem today without knowing in one's heart that there can be no return to the city of 1967 for the simple reason that the city of 1967 no longer exists. For Arabs elsewhere to insist indefinitely otherwise will simply be once again to display the peculiarly Arab penchant for rallying around the flags of lost causes. The Israelis are already arguing about 2010, and it is in this as much as in anything that the difference between the two sides is expressed.

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How Jewish Quotas Began

Stephen Steinberg

AMERICAN Jews have an important stake in the nation's system of higher education. For second- and third-generation Jews college was the major channel of upward mobility, and among young Jews today college attendance is practically universal. In addition, Jews are heavily represented among faculty in institutions of higher learning. According to recent surveys conducted by the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, Jews, who comprise 3 per cent of the national population, are 9 per cent of the faculty in the nation's colleges and universities. In the seventeen ranking universities, the proportion of Jews is 17 per cent, and among faculty in such fields of traditional Jewish concentration as medicine, law, and social science, the proportion of Jews runs as high as one-third. In certain institutions near Jewish population centers, the figures are even higher.

These achievements are largely a result of two trends since World War II. The first has been the tremendous expansion of higher education, especially of state universities. The second has been the lowering of discriminatory barriers that once limited Jewish access to many private colleges, including some of the most prestigious colleges in the nation.

More recent trends, however, threaten to alter the structure of educational opportunity for Jews. First of all, cutbacks in government funding of higher education have brought an abrupt end to a quarter-century of steady growth, and this will inevitably influence the educational chances of Jews and non-Jews alike. Other changes will affect Jews selectively. In recent years many state universities have adopted percentage restrictions against out-of-state students. Others discourage out-of-state applicants by charging higher fees or by demanding higher qualifications than apply to residents. Since the great majority of Jews are concentrated in just a few states, these restrictions are bound to affect them disproportionately.

While primarily a response to economic conditions, in at least some instances geographical restrictions have had anti-Jewish motives. A view widely shared both within and outside the university is that many radical students come from the East and that many of these students are Jews. Acting on this assumption, at least two universities have singled out areas of high Jewish concentration as deserving lowest priority in the recruitment of students. In one instance a quota was specifically aimed at students from the New York City metropolitan area. This trend could severely restrict Jewish access to some of the largest universities in the nation.

If geographical restrictions are new to state universities in the West, they are longstanding practice in private colleges in the East. Since the 1920's, when these colleges were flooded with Jewish applicants, their policy has been to strive for a "regional balance" by giving preference to applicants from outside the East. This practice originated as a device for preserving the upper-class and Protestant character of the elite Eastern colleges. In contrast, the quotas adopted in recent years are designed to increase the representation of disprivileged blacks. One can only speculate on whether this will significantly diminish educational opportunities for Jews. It is just as plausible that the increasing black enrollment will be at the expense of those students who previously were admitted less for their academic qualifications than because they had the "right" family credentials or came from the "right" preparatory school. The process of eliminating privilege from Eastern colleges was initiated by Jews and may well be advanced one step further by blacks. Nevertheless, many Jews are alarmed by the introduction of unofficial quotas favorable to black applicants. As a small minority, Jews are obviously threatened by the concept of "proportional representation." Indeed, the very idea of quotas is anathema to Jews. They have the memory of the *numerus clausus* that restricted Jewish access to universities in Russia. And, more immediately, in America the first quotas established in higher education were aimed specifically against Jews.

II

THE immigration of several million Jews from Eastern Europe drastically changed the character of the American-Jewish

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community, as well as its relation to the larger society. Prior to the East European immigration, American Jews had been a small, inconspicuous, and highly assimilated group. Most were either descendants of early settlers or recent German immigrants. In all they numbered roughly a quarter of a million in a population of sixty-three million, or just six-tenths of one per cent. As Nathan Glazer comments: ". . . before 1880 or 1890 there were too few American Jews for them to constitute a question."

More than small numbers was involved. Given their German origins, Jews blended in culturally with the American mainstream. By 1880 the great majority had entered middle-class occupations. The prevailing mood in the Jewish community was to abandon "outmoded" beliefs and customs, and to seek ways to reconcile historical Judaism with the demands of modern society. This was the period during which the Reform movement flourished and reached its most radical expression. In 1885, a group of leading Reform rabbis adopted a statement of principles that rejected whatever in Mosaic law was "not adapted to the views and habits of modern civilization."

A small Jewish population, its integration into the class system, the absence of sharp cultural differences between Jews and non-Jews, the mood of accommodation in the Jewish community—these factors contributed to a low level of religious conflict during most of the 19th century. However, beneath the surface of religious harmony was a layer of anti-Semitic beliefs and stereotypes handed down from the past. As one historian, John Higham, writes: ". . . the Jews in early nineteenth century America got along very well with their non-Jewish neighbors although American conceptions of Jews in the abstract at no time lacked the unfavorable elements embedded in European tradition."

The presence of anti-Semitic conceptions, however inert, did not augur well for the immigrants from Eastern Europe. Even before their arrival, upwardly mobile Jews with German origins confronted social barriers erected by a nervous Protestant upper class. It was largely in response to this development that, as Oscar and Mary Handlin put it, "after 1880 the longings for exclusive, quasi-aristocratic status increasingly found satisfaction in associations with an hereditary basis." Yankee ancestry became a condition for respectability, and the old class sought refuge in exclusive societies and resorts. Discrimination also became the practice in prestigious clubs, including some university alumni clubs.

By 1924, the year that immigration quotas were imposed, the nation's Jewish population had increased to approximately four million. Moreover, Jews were heavily concentrated in the urban centers of the Northeast, where they did in fact constitute a significant portion of the population. The Jewish population of New York, the port of arrival for most immigrants, grew from 80,000 in 1880 to 1,225,000 in 1910. From a practically invisible minority of 3 per cent, by 1920 Jews constituted 30 per cent of the city's population.

Even more important than the increase in numbers was the social character of the newer immigrants. Impoverished, refugees from persecution, natives of an alien and sometimes backward culture, adherents of pre-modern religious beliefs and customs, the East European Jews were a new factor in American life. The "new immigration," as it was called, made Jews visible as a group for the first time. The spectacle of over one million Jews clustered in New York City aroused the predictable xenophobic reaction. America now had a "Jewish problem," and American nativism a new target.

The essence of the "Jewish problem" was how to control the influx of Jews into areas of social activity that were predominantly Protestant. By 1920 a pattern of anti-Jewish discrimination had become established, and was being sustained by an upsurge of anti-Jewish propaganda, especially in the Northeast where the Jewish settlements were located. Discrimination became commonplace in neighborhoods, clubs, resorts, and private boarding schools, and was making headway wherever else Jews turned in large numbers. The Eastern colleges—elitist, tradition-bound, repositories of Puritan values and upper-class standards—could not remain untouched by these trends, especially when their enrollments contained increasing numbers of Jewish students.

III

"THE Jew undergoes privation, spills blood, to educate his child," boasted an editorial in a 1902 *Jewish Daily Forward*. "In [this] is reflected one of the finest qualities of the Jewish people. It shows our capacity to make sacrifices for our children . . . as well as our love for education, for intellectual effort." While the Jewish passion for education is easily romanticized, the fact is that Jewish immigrants did place high value on education and sent their children to college in disproportionate numbers. As the *Forward*'s editorial observed: "You don't find many German, Irish, or Italian children in City College. About 90 per cent of the boys there are Jews, and most of them children of Jewish workers." What the *Forward* neglected to mention was that, according to one early report, "as the percentage of Russian-Jewish boys in attendance increased, the families of Anglo-Saxon, Dutch, German, and Huguenot descent, who had been accustomed to register their boys in the College in the old days, sent them elsewhere for a college education."

As more and more Jews enrolled in City College, it acquired a reputation for being a "Jew-

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ish school." Indeed, by 1920 both City College and Hunter College had become between 80 and 90 per cent Jewish. A number of other Eastern colleges showed rapid increases in their Jewish enrollment. Before Columbia instituted restrictive quotas after World War I, it had a Jewish enrollment of 40 per cent. The figure for New York University was probably higher; the figure for Harvard was 20 per cent. Without its pejorative implications the notion of a "Jewish invasion" would not be inappropriate for describing the trends in these institutions prior to World War I.

The high rate of college attendance among Jews is easier to understand against the background of conditions in the secondary schools. During the early 1900's American society did not place much value on a continuing education. The vast majority of Americans were employed in occupations that required few skills, especially of a kind that comes with formal education. For most people anything beyond a rudimentary knowledge of the three R's had little practical value, and the tendency in the schools was to emphasize "life adjustment" rather than intellectual development with an eye to college preparation. The individual who graduated from high school was the exception, not the rule. Those who did complete high school came mostly from the economically advantaged strata of society. They alone could afford to postpone employment and could see in a high school or college education some prospective utility and economic benefit.

Nevertheless, the common school did provide an opportunity for those in the lower classes with sufficient ingenuity or will to obtain free education for their children. Jews availed themselves of this opportunity with greater frequency than most other groups. A 1922 study of one Eastern high school found that the academic record of Russian-Jewish students was surpassed only by children of German or Scandinavian parents. In comparison to other ethnic groups, including native Americans, Jewish children were more likely to reach high school, more likely to finish high school if they entered, and more likely to enroll in college preparatory rather than commercial or technical courses.

From a historical perspective it makes little sense to explain Jewish academic success in terms of a special aptitude or brilliance on the part of Jews. It was enough that Jews placed high value on education, that they were more often willing to undergo sacrifices, and that their children had the motivation and perseverance to stay in school when most of their contemporaries had liberated themselves from academic routine and discipline.

Nor did it demand any special talent to gain admission to college, even a prestigious college. Fifty years ago the gates to most of the nation's colleges were open to anyone with only minimal academic credentials. In 1922 admission to Harvard was guaranteed to anyone with the appropriate high-school training who passed an entrance examination. The fact of the matter is that Jews did not face intense competition from non-Jews, at least not on the scale that is characteristic today. With determination, average intellect, and modest financial resources, a student could make his way through the academic system.

The fact that the Jewish entry into institutions of higher learning began with second- rather than third- or fourth-generation Jews was of utmost significance. Jewish college students during the 1920's carried the mark of their immigrant culture. The editorial in the *Jewish Daily Forward* could take pride in Jewish students marching off to City College with clothes that were "mostly poor and old." But they were greeted with indignation and hostility by their upper-class schoolmates, especially in the elite Eastern colleges. A writer in a 1923 edition of the *Nation* put it bluntly: the upwardly mobile Jew "sends his children to college a generation or two sooner than other stocks, and as a result there are in fact more dirty Jews and tactless Jews in college than dirty and tactless Italians, Armenians, or Slovaks."

IV

No matter how strong the Jewish penchant for education, no matter how deeply rooted in Jewish religion and culture, it would have mattered for little if room had not existed in the colleges. It was fortuitous that the tide of Jewish immigration from Eastern Europe coincided with a period of unprecedented expansion in American higher education. Between 1890 and 1925 college enrollments grew at a rate nearly five times faster than the population.

Just as important as the physical expansion of the university were the related qualitative changes. For several decades a revolt had been gaining momentum against a curriculum that consisted principally of Latin, Greek, rhetoric, mathematics, and natural philosophy. By 1880 the attitude that all knowledge must begin with the classics gave way to demands for practical education. Behind this changing conception of higher education was the advancing industrial and scientific revolution, which created a need for an educated managerial class as well as trained professionals and technicians. Thus Latin and Greek were no longer required for admission to most colleges, the "elective principle" was instituted to free students from traditionally required subjects, and it was generally conceded to be compatible with the ideals of a college to train students for careers in business, engineering, scientific farming, the arts, and a variety of new professions such as accounting and pharmacy that made their appearance in American colleges for the first time. Thanks to their penchant for education and their determi-

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nation to succeed, Jews availed themselves of the newly created opportunities more than did other groups. Thanks to the basic structural changes in society that transformed American higher education, the opportunities existed in the first place.

V

One writer in 1910 observed that in colleges there were "two classes, the one, favored according to undergraduate thinking, holding its position by financial ability to have a good time with leisure for carrying off athletic and other showy prizes; the other class in sheer desperation taking the faculty, textbooks, and debating more seriously. Each class runs in the same rut all its life." Second-generation Jews obviously did not have the economic resources or the social standing to participate in the collegiate "leisure class." For them a college education was less a mark of status than a vehicle out of the lower class, and this inevitably gave Jews a sense of purpose lacking elsewhere.

Numerous writers during the early 1900's commented on the outstanding academic record of Jewish students. According to one observer: "At every university and college that I have visited, I have heard ungrudging praise of the exceptional ability of the Jewish, especially of the Russian-Jewish, students." Even those uneasy about the influx of Jews rarely denied their enterprise as students. One comments begrudgingly: "History is full of examples where one race has displaced another by underliving and overworking." Indeed, Jewish academic success, and the willingness of Jews to violate the "taboo on scholarship" (as one Yale professor called it), was a source of considerable resentment, and constituted no small part of the "Jewish problem."

Nothing more need be said about the class of students who took faculty, textbooks, and debating seriously; they were not very different from the contemporary college student with serious aspirations, a competitive spirit, and a respect for scholarship. Jews evidently possessed these qualities long before they became established as norms in the better universities. Early in the century, the prevailing mood in the American college, especially the prestigious Eastern colleges, was anything but one of seriousness and devotion to learning. According to Laurence Vessey:

> The undergraduate temperament was marked by a strong resistance to abstract thinking and to the work of the classroom in general, by traits of practicality, romanticism, and high-spiritedness, and by passive acceptance of moral, political, and religious values taken from the non-academic society at large.

It would be difficult to exaggerate the extent to which honor societies, Greek-letter fraternities, eating clubs, and sports dominated undergraduate life. "The cultivation of gentility," as Thorstein Veblen called it, was pursued to the exclusion of virtually all other values. The prevailing attitude toward scholarship was at best one of indifference, as symbolized by the concept and reality of the "gentleman's C."

The class origin of students in these prestigious universities was of central importance. Recruited largely from upper-class families, their route to college typically traversed the private preparatory school. In 1909, for example, 78 per cent of Princeton students, and 65 per cent of Yale students came from prep schools. Significantly, the figure for Harvard was lower—47 per cent. In these colleges upper-class students established a clubby atmosphere and patterns of expensive and frivolous habits. Veblen bluntly called them "gentlemen's colleges" where "scholarship is . . . made subordinate to genteel dissipation, to a grounding in those methods of conspicuous consumption that should engage the thought and energies of a well-to-do man of the world."

It was no doubt as a reflection of class formation elsewhere in society that higher education assumed the features of a caste system. At the top of the hierarchy stood Harvard, Yale, Princeton, with Columbia struggling to retain its elite position. Within each institution was a wealthy class who dominated social life and set patterns imitated throughout the system of higher education. The leading institutions were measured more in terms of these status characteristics than by standards of scholarship or academic achievement.

The important thing to be said about Jews is that they threatened this respectability. They did so, first of all, because they were lower class, and frequently exhibited ethnic characteristics that violated what Veblen called "the canons of genteel intercourse." Secondly, the seriousness and diligence with which they pursued their academic careers not only represented unwelcome competition, but implicitly called into question the propriety of a "gentlemen's college." Finally, Jews were unwanted simply because they were Jews, and it was feared that their presence might diminish the social standing of the college and its students.

Some of the flavor of this conflict is conveyed in an autobiographical essay entitled "The Coming of the Jews." The author, Francis Russell, came from an old-guard Protestant family and attended Boston Latin School, an elite public high school that sent its best students to Harvard. By 1920 it had become over half Jewish. Writes Russell:

> My own background was middle-class, Protestant, non-competitive, like that of most Roxbury Latin boys. I had always taken for granted that I should go to Harvard because my father in his time had gone there; and I never doubted

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the possibility of this any more than I stopped to consider whether I really wanted to or not. That Harvard could be the goal of anyone's ambitions never occurred to me.

In contrast, Jews

> worked far into each night, their lessons next morning were letter perfect, they took obvious pride in their academic success and talked about it. At the end of each year there were room prizes given for excellency in each subject, and they were openly after them. There was none of the Roxbury solidarity of pupils versus the master. If anyone reciting made a mistake that the master overlooked, twenty hands shot into the air to bring it to his attention.

Such a competitive situation does not generate good feeling, especially when the group with superior status takes second place. As Russell says: "It was a fierce and gruelling competition. . . . Some of us in the Gentile rump were fair students, most of us lazy and mediocre ones, and by our position at the foot of the class we despised the industry of those little Jews." It was just as inevitable that Jews would begrudge the status and privilege of their competitors: "They hated us in return with the accumulated resentment of the past, and because they knew that the way for us was easier."

The picture that emerges from Russell's candid essay is of a complacent ruling class living off past achievements and suddenly challenged by talented newcomers, resented all the more because they were Jewish. For the first time the conflict between the status claims of the elite colleges and their educational functions became apparent. As one writer in a 1922 journal put it:

> Each student in an American college is there, for some other purpose than acquiring knowledge. He is to be the transmitter to others of ideals of mind, spirit, and conduct. *Scholarship is perhaps the most strongly emphasized of these ideals, but it is not the only one, or even the one most generally prized.* [Emphasis added.]

No one suggested that Jewish students threatened academic standards. Rather it was argued that the college stood for *other* things, and that social standards were as important and valid as intellectual ones.

VI

A COLLEGE song during the 1910's had these lyrics:

Oh, Harvard's run by millionaires,
And Yale is run by booze,
Cornell is run by farmers' sons,
Columbia's run by Jews.

So give a cheer for Baxter Street,
Another one for Pell,
And when the little sheenies die,
Their souls will go to hell.

A climate of intolerance prevailed in many Eastern colleges long before discriminatory quotas were contemplated by college officials. From the turn of the century anti-Semitism was a common feature of campus social life. Although exceptions were sometimes made, Jews were generally excluded from the honor societies and eating clubs at Yale and Princeton. In 1902 a dormitory at Harvard came to be known as "Little Jerusalem" because of its large number of Jewish residents. In 1913 a fraternity suspended its charter at CCNY because "the Hebraic element is greatly in excess." Such anti-Semitic incidents checker the history of American colleges after 1900.

However unpleasant, social discrimination was not a serious disability. For one thing Jews tended to avoid campuses like Yale and Princeton that had a reputation for bigotry, and to seek out others—City College, New York University, and Columbia—that offered a less hostile atmosphere as well as proximity to New York's Lower East Side. Under President Eliot's administration, Harvard earned a reputation as the most liberal and democratic of the "Big Three" and therefore Jews did not feel that the avenue to a prestigious college was altogether closed. While campus anti-Semitism probably left Jews with a feeling of social inferiority, it was a small price to pay for education and economic advancement. The author of a 1916 article in *Harper's Weekly* went so far as to see social discrimination as an asset: ". . . indeed, their exclusion from societies stimulates their education on the intellectual side; and a final judgement on the whole matter would depend in part on the relative importance we give to 'college work' and 'college life.'" His prediction that Jews would pioneer a "new and higher conception of the purpose of university education" may have proved correct in some respects. But frequently the principal result of Jewish exclusion was that Jews formed their own fraternities and social groups. Ironically, this only reinforced the prevalent notion that Jewish students were clannish and unassimilable.

At least some administrators of Eastern colleges shared the anti-Jewish sentiments of their students, hardly surprising since both groups had similar social origins. In 1890 the editor of the *American Hebrew* mailed a questionnaire to a number of prominent Christians, including several college presidents and professors. Those who replied were unanimous in condemning prejudice as indefensible and irrational, but a question regarding "standards of conduct" elicited some critical comments about Jews. The following from a Harvard professor was typical:

> Many Jews have personal and social qualities and habits that are unpleasant. . . . These come in large measure from the social isolation

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> to which they have been subjected for centuries, by the prejudice and ignorance of Christian communities. Most Jews are socially untrained, and their bodily habits are not good.

The president of Tufts University concurred:

> The social characteristics of the Jews are peculiar. The subtle thing which we call manners, among them differs from the manners of Americans generally.

These men would have been indignant if their remarks had been construed as prejudiced, for they repudiated prejudice as un-Christian and irrational. They were convinced that their opinion of Jews was based not on myth or religious bigotry, but on social reality. As a dean of Columbia wrote in 1904: "What most people regard as a racial problem is really a social problem."

Indeed, to a certain extent it *was* a social problem involving real differences in "the subtle thing which we call manners." It would be simplistic to attribute the religious antagonisms of the period solely to bigotry handed down from the past. But it would be equally naive to assume that class and ethnic differences alone explain the unfavorable attitudes toward Jews that prevailed in educated circles. If not for the history of virulent anti-Semitism and the various stigmas attached to Jews, their cultural characteristics would have received less notice. Besides, even Jews with "proper" manners were victims of social discrimination. The tendency was to think of all Jews in terms of the immigrant, and to think of all non-Jews in terms of the highest standards of gentility and Christian virtue.

DURING the 1910's there was increasing pressure in certain Eastern colleges to control the Jewish influx. The Jewish "takeover" of City College, whose student body was by then over 80 per cent Jewish, served as a warning. Other factors were also at work. World War I fanned the flames of nationalism, and a combination of political demagoguery and nativist propaganda heightened anti-Jewish feeling. For largely independent reasons, the mood inside the colleges was also undergoing change. Reaction was setting in against the reforms of the past twenty years—the expansion of enrollment, the subordination of the classical subjects to science and vocational training, and the related trend toward increased class and ethnic heterogeneity in the student population. Soon after his inauguration as President of Harvard in 1909, Abbott Lawrence Lowell complained that Harvard men were not as intellectually or socially rounded as they ought to be, or by implication, as they once were.

From the turn of the century there were colleges that limited their Jewish enrollment. However, beginning around 1920 some of the Eastern colleges that had previously been open to Jews adopted policies designed to reduce their Jewish enrollment. To the public, and possibly to themselves, they maintained the fiction of non-discriminatory admissions. But in fact quotas were instituted, though concealed behind a number of subterfuges. Some colleges set up alumni committees to screen candidates, a device that passed on the responsibility of religious discrimination to agreeable alumni. Other colleges limited their total enrollment and employed waiting lists that permitted a biased selection of students. Still others, under the pretext of seeking a regional balance, gave preference to students outside the East and thereby limited the number of Jews, almost all of whom lived in the East.

The most common ploy for excluding Jews was the introduction of character tests and psychological exams. Before the 1920's only criteria of scholastic performance were used in the admissions process; now admissions boards began to scrutinize the "outside" interests of students. In addition, school principals were asked to rank students on such characteristics as "fair play," "public spirit," "interest in fellows," and "leadership." These traits were exactly the opposite of those generally ascribed to Jews. According to the prevailing image, Jews did not use "fair play" but employed unfair methods to get ahead. "Public spirit" and "interest in fellows" were Christian virtues; Jews were outsiders who cared only for themselves. "Leadership" was seen as a prerogative of non-Jews; Jews exhibiting this quality would be regarded as "pushy." School principals, who were invariably Protestant and middle class, could be expected to reflect these stereotypes in evaluating their Jewish students.

It is not possible to determine precisely how prevalent quotas were during the 1920's, though writers of the period give the impression that by 1930 most private colleges with a large and growing Jewish enrollment had instituted some kind of restrictive device. The most dramatic reversal occurred at Columbia where the Jewish enrollment declined from 40 to 22 per cent in a two-year period. New York University was also reported to have sharply reduced the number of Jewish students. In 1922 a dean explained their policy of selective admissions in this way:

> We do not exclude students of any race or national origin because they are foreign, but whenever the student body is found to contain elements from any source in such proportions as to threaten our capacity for assimilating them, we seek by selection to restore the balance.

By 1920 Harvard's Jewish enrollment reached 20 per cent; no restrictions were yet in effect. Syracuse was roughly 15 per cent Jewish in 1923, though the chancellor had to fight off an attempt to "rid the hill of Jews." In 1930 Rutgers admitted only thirty-three Jewish students in order to "equalize the proportion" in the college.

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Rumor had it that Princeton used a quota based on the percentage of Jews in the United States; whether true or not, the proportion of Jewish students was minuscule. At Dartmouth in 1930 it was just 7 per cent.

It is evident that a tide of bigotry swept college campuses during the 1920's, just as it did the nation as a whole. Yet the extent and significance of quotas should not be exaggerated. For one thing, they were confined geographically to the East, and what is more important, to private schools. Secondly, as objectionable as quotas were, they stopped far short of excluding Jews altogether. If excluded from the elite Eastern colleges, Jewish students could, and did, go elsewhere. They had the bitter experience of being treated as outcasts, and some had to settle for a less prestigious education. But in the final analysis the quotas of the 1920's did not constitute a major obstacle to Jewish aspirations.

VII

So long as quotas were administered surreptitiously, they were difficult to combat. Few people, least of all Jews, were deceived by the subterfuges that colleges employed, but they were effective in forestalling public exposure and political agitation. This situation suddenly changed with a terse announcement issued by Harvard University in June 1922. The full text was as follows:

> The great increase which has recently taken place in the number of students at Harvard College, as at the other colleges, has brought up forcibly the problem of the limitation of enrollment.
>
> We have not at present sufficient classrooms or dormitories, to take care of any further large increase. This problem is really a group of problems, all difficult, and most of them needing for their settlement more facts than we now have. Before a general policy can be formulated on this great question it must engage the attention of the Governing Board and the Faculties and it is likely to be discussed by alumni and undergraduates.
>
> *It is natural that with a widespread discussion of this sort going on there should be talk about the proportion of Jews at the college.* At present the whole problem of limitation of enrollment is in the stage of general discussion and it may remain in that stage for a considerable time. [Emphasis added.]

Why did Harvard not proceed more discreetly and simply adopt the subterfuges employed elsewhere? The reason is to be found in the personality of President Lowell, perhaps in his New England candor, more likely in his naiveté and underlying prejudice. Lowell believed that he was acting courageously. As he wrote on one occasion: "This question is with us. We cannot solve it by forgetting or ignoring it." In his commencement address a week later he added a touch of eloquence: "To shut the eyes to an actual problem of this kind and ignore its existence, or to refuse to grapple with it courageously, would be unworthy of a university." The "problem" was that Jewish enrollment at Harvard had increased from 6 per cent in 1908 to 20 per cent in 1922. Lowell, however, was determined to avoid the "indirect methods" employed elsewhere. The storm of protest that ensued must have given him occasion to question the practicality of such moral rectitude.

Elected officials were among the first to react. On the day after the papers reported the news from Harvard a state legislator from Massachusetts proposed a bill for a legislative inquiry. On the next day, President Lowell traveled to the State House where he conferred privately with the Speaker of the House of Representatives. The Speaker obliged Lowell with a public statement that dismissed the press report as "idle rumor," adding that "Harvard would remain, as in the past, a great university for all the people. . . ." Nevertheless, the protest in the State Legislature continued unabated. One pending bill proposed to eliminate all reference to Harvard University from the State Constitution, in order to dissociate the State from Harvard's discriminatory policies. Another proposal called for a review of the tax exemptions that Harvard enjoyed on its property. The Boston City Council passed its own resolution condemning the Harvard administration. Finally, the Governor appointed a committee to investigate possible discrimination at Harvard. The New York *Times* reported that Harvard officials were "surprised" since they had assumed that "any plan for a State investigation would die a natural death."

This was an impressive response from the official sector, unusual for the 1920's. Still the resolute President of Harvard stood his ground. An exchange of letters with a dissenting Jewish alumnus was printed in the New York *Times*. Lowell's letter began with the disclaimer that "there is perhaps no body of men in the United States . . . with so little anti-Semitic feeling as the instructing staff of Harvard University." The letter continued: "There is, most unfortunately, a rapidly growing anti-Semitic feeling in this country . . . fraught with very great evils for the Jews, and very great perils for the community." Finally the logic becomes clear: quotas were designed not to harm Jews, but to reduce anti-Semitism. They were in the best interests of Jews themselves:

> The anti-Semitic feeling among the students is increasing, and it grows in proportion to the increase in the number of Jews. If their number should become 40 per cent of the student body, the race feeling would become intense. When on the other hand, the number of Jews was small, the race antagonism was small also. . . .

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> If every college in the country would take a limited proportion of Jews, I suspect we should go a long way toward eliminating race feeling among the students, and as these students passed out into the world, eliminating it in the community.

For President Lowell, restricting Jewish enrollment at Harvard was a way of restricting the gowth of anti-Semitism. His Jewish correspondent was unconvinced: "If it be true . . . that anti-Semitic feeling among the students is increasing, should it not be the function of an institution of learning to discourage rather than encourage such a spirit?"

The criticism that was marshaled against President Lowell and Harvard owes itself in large measure to the political influence that Jews enjoyed both within and outside the university. The Jewish concentration in and around Boston was given further significance by gerrymandering practices that drew political boundaries so as to maximize ethnic homogeneity. As a consequence there were a number of "Jewish districts" that elected Jewish candidates to the State Legislature. This was at least one factor in the strong action that state and city officials took against Harvard's proposed quotas.

In addition, Jews were strategically located within the power structure of the university. First, there were the Jewish alumni, like the one quoted above, who were outspoken in their opposition to quotas. Secondly, Harvard's governing body, the Board of Overseers, had one Jewish member, Judge Julian W. Mack of Chicago, who was a leader in the American Jewish Congress. According to one newspaper report, he was "much exercised over the matter."

A third political resource was the presence of Jews among the faculty at Harvard. When President Lowell appointed a committee of thirteen to review the college's admissions policies, it included three Jews. All had German names, and judging from the committee's final report, it is doubtful that they did much to defend Jewish interests. But the very presence of Jews on the faculty and through the ranks of the college made it all the more difficult to justify the sudden imposition of quotas.

Student opinion at Harvard was divided. A professor of social ethics asked his class to discuss whether religious restrictions were ethically justified. In the class of eighty-three, forty-one defended religious quotas. Thirty-four, including seven with Jewish names, held that such a policy was not justifiable; the remaining eight were undecided.

Some students who defended quotas expressed resentment of Jewish academic success: "They memorize their books! Thus they keep the average of scholarship so high that others with a high degree of common sense, but less parrot-knowledge, are prevented from attaining a representative grade." A second criticism was that Jews were clannish and did not fit into student life: "They do not mix. They destroy the unity of the college." "They are governed by selfishness." "Jews are an unassimilable race, as dangerous to a college as indigestible food to a man." Other responses were not explicitly anti-Jewish. A few expressed the view that Harvard's founding fathers "wanted certain traditions maintained and it is a duty to maintain them. . . ." A more common argument was that "Harvard must maintain a cosmopolitan balance."

As THESE comments suggest, the arguments in defense of quotas were basically of two kinds. One pointed to objectionable traits of Jews; the other pointed to desirable traits of the university that were presumably endangered. The latter argument did not accuse Jews of any objectionable behavior, but assumed the *absence* of qualities necessary for the preservation of the institution's special character. This view was expressed by some of the leading journals of the day. One writer commented that Jewish immigrants "had little training in the amenities and delicacies of civilized existence," and if the proportion of Jews at Harvard increased to 40 per cent as President Lowell warned, "this means that its character would be completely changed." Another journalist was more forceful:

> It is one of the severest and most distressing tasks of college authorities today to exercise that discrimination which will keep college ideals and atmosphere pure and sound and yet not quench this eager spirit. . . . Racial and religious oppression and prejudice have no place in America, and least of all in academic environments. But the effort to maintain standards against untrained minds and spirits is not oppression or prejudice.

Even the *Nation*, in commenting on the genteel tradition at Harvard, Yale, and Princeton, conceded that "the infiltration of a mass of pushing young men with a foreign accent accustomed to overcome discrimination by self-assertiveness would obviously change the character of any of these institutions and lessen its social prestige." However, the *Nation*'s editorial did not defend quotas. It was resigned to the inevitability that "some of the beauty of the aristocratic tradition" would be lost, but argued that America should not imitate the methods of "the most backward in Europe." As might be expected, Jewish opinion challenged the legitimacy of judging applicants in terms of character as well as intelligence. As one Jewish writer put it: "We think that a university which keeps a man out because it doesn't like his character is almost as benighted as the one which would sift him out because he is a Jew."

"*Almost* as benighted." It was difficult to deny

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the difference between rejecting applicants on sheer religious grounds and rejecting them because they lacked a preferred set of social characteristics. Advocates of quotas did not question the right of Jews to a college education. Rather the issue was the right of certain Eastern colleges to preserve their unique character, which was Protestant and upper class. The problem was not simply that Jews were displacing upper-class Protestants. More important was the effect that this had for the reputation of the college. City College was stigmatized as "the Jewish University of America," and the University of Pennsylvania was said to have "the democracy of the streetcar." As these colleges lost prestige, they ceased to attract students from prestigious families.

One might assume that the President of Harvard was motivated by a sincere desire to preserve Harvard's historic identity, rather than by anti-Semitism. After all, was he not the President of an institution with a reputation for liberalism and tolerance? Was this not the A. Lawrence Lowell who in 1902 warned his predecessor of the "great danger of a snobbish separation of the students on lines of wealth" and who, in his own administration, had constructed compulsory freshman dormitories and commons? And had he not, in the same commencement address in which he defended his proposal for selective admissions, also expressed the view that "Americanization does not mean merely molding [foreigners] to an already settled type, but the blending together of many distinct elements . . . [each] with qualities which can enrich our common heritage."

However, considerable doubt is cast on Lowell's motives by an incident that occurred on Christmas day, 1922. Traveling on the New York-New Haven railroad, Lowell was engaged in conversation by a man—Victor Albert Kramer—who, unbeknownst to Lowell, was both Jewish and a graduate of Harvard. Several weeks later, at a synagogue forum on discrimination against Negroes, Kramer described his encounter with Lowell. Thanks to the presence of a New York *Times* reporter, the event was reported in the press.

According to Kramer, Lowell predicted a worsening of conditions for Jews so long as they remained apart and resisted intermarriage. Jews had outworn their religion, he believed, and must give up their peculiar practices if they expected to be treated with equality. The man who, in his commencement address six months earlier, had extolled the contributions each immigrant group could make to the evolving American, now in private conversation asserted that a Jew could not be both a Jew and an American. Finally, he expressed satisfaction in the fact that New York University had reduced the Jewish enrollment and took credit for Harvard's plan to do so likewise.

Lowell never denied the encounter on the train, though a statement issued by his office claimed that the newspaper report "grossly misrepresents his views." The statement continued sanctimoniously: "His earnest desire is to see anti-Semitic prejudice and Semitic segregation abolished in this country, and he believes that Jews and Gentiles should work together to this end. . . ." In Lowell's view "Semitic segregation" stirred up latent anti-Semitic prejudice. A ceiling on the number of Jews at Harvard was therefore in the interest of both groups.

While President Lowell disapproved of "Semitic segregation," he was of a different opinion with respect to Negroes. Even before becoming President, Lowell expressed his dislike for the residential separation between Harvard's wealthy students, who lived in lavish apartments known as the Gold Coast, and the less privileged students. His construction of compulsory freshman dormitories won him a reputation as a champion of democracy. But it was also Lowell who instituted a color ban in these dormitories. For the handful of Harvard's black students, it was compulsory to find living quarters elsewhere.

Like the proposed religious quotas, the color ban became a *cause célèbre*. Negro civil-rights groups agitated against it, and 149 Harvard alumni signed a protest petition. But to no avail. As Lowell said in a letter to the father of one of Harvard's black freshmen:

> . . . I am sorry to have to tell you that in the Freshman Halls, where residence is compulsory, we have felt from the beginning the necessity of not including colored men. To the other dormitories and dining rooms they are admitted freely, but in the Freshman Halls I am sure you will understand why . . . we have not thought it possible to compel men of different races to reside together.

Ironically, Lowell's correspondent was himself a Harvard graduate and his son had received his previous schooling at fashionable Exeter Academy. Therefore it could not have been in response to a conflict between two cultures that Harvard chose to discriminate. The basic truth is that racial and religious prejudice was one of the underpinnings of upper-class society. On the surface upper-class Protestants may have been protecting their status prerogatives and their cultural symbols. But prejudice was a factor in the very definition of status, just as it was a factor in the choice of cultural symbols. Harvard was elite not simply because it was upper class and genteel, but also because it was predominantly white and Protestant. In the final analysis, the class origins and ethnic peculiarities of Jews were only of secondary importance. As Horace Kallen wrote in 1923:

> . . . it is not the failure of Jews to be assimilated into undergraduate society which troubles them [President Lowell and his defenders]. They do

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not want Jews to be assimilated into undergraduate society. What troubles them is the completeness with which the Jews want to be and have been assimilated.

VIII

PRACTICALLY all the political agitation over quotas was confined to a five-day period that began with the Harvard announcement raising the possibility that they might be instituted and ended with a decision by the college's Board of Overseers to refer the issue to a special faculty committee. When the Board dramatically met in emergency session and announced that no changes in the college's entrance requirements would be made until after the committee had reported, the opponents of quotas probably assumed that the administration was on the retreat. Whether by design or not, however, the committee functioned as a protective screen for the administration. It removed the issue of quotas from the public arena and insulated Harvard's officialdom from public scrutiny and political pressure.

The six-page report issued by the committee after almost a year had passed was unequivocal in repudiating quotas as inconsistent with Harvard's tradition of "equal opportunity for all regardless of race and religion." Indeed, the authors of the report seemed to go out of their way to avoid any proposal that might even be construed as prejudiced by suspicious minds: "Even so rational a method as a personal conference or an intelligence test, if now adopted here as a means of selection, would inevitably be regarded as a covert device to eliminate those deemed racially or socially undesirable. . . ."

The report did not stop here, however. The committee's assigned task was not simply to study religious quotas, but to review all of Harvard's admissions procedures. This the committee did with apparent good conscience. It announced its opposition to the policy of giving preference to the sons of graduates, and recommended several minor changes in the college's entrance requirements that were intended to upgrade the student body. These reforms, the report asserted, "would solve one part of our problem."

The report continued: "The other part of the problem, namely, the building up of a new group of men from the West and South and, in general, from good high schools in towns and small cities, is more difficult." The difficulty was that students from these regions did not receive a high-school education that, in quality or substance, prepared them for Harvard College. As a consequence they were unable to pass Harvard's entrance examination. The committee's solution was to waive the entrance examination for students in the highest seventh of their graduating class, if they had completed an approved course of study and had the recommendation of their school. The committee reasoned that such students had demonstrated their fitness within their own schools, and that "the best product is likely to succeed in college better than the poorer portion of the group admitted under our present examinations." On this dubious assumption the committee felt confident that Harvard's standards would not be lowered by accepting students who could not pass the usual entrance examination.

The men who drafted this proposal must have been aware that, if implemented, it would drastically alter the religious composition of Harvard's undergraduates. Jews were overwhelmingly concentrated in the urban centers on the Eastern seaboard, and "to raise the proportion of country boys and students from the interior" would obviously reduce the Jewish representation. Other Eastern colleges had already employed this as a strategy for excluding Jews (between 1920 and 1922 Columbia instituted regional quotas, with the result that the Jewish proportion at the college was cut in half, from 40 to 22 per cent) and although no comparable figures are available for Harvard, there is no reason to think that its motives were different. It was not until the influx of Jewish students that Eastern colleges began to worry about achieving a "regional balance" and it was not until the crisis over Harvard's proposed quotas that a student's geographical background was deemed relevant to his admission to the college.

A policy of recruiting nationally can be, and often is, defended on legitimate grounds. It is said to increase the quality of the student body, to diversify and enrich student culture, and to extend the influence of the college at the same time opportunities are extended to deserving students outside the East. Whatever merit these arguments have, the concept of "regional balance" unquestionably originated as a rationale for discrimination and may well continue as such today.

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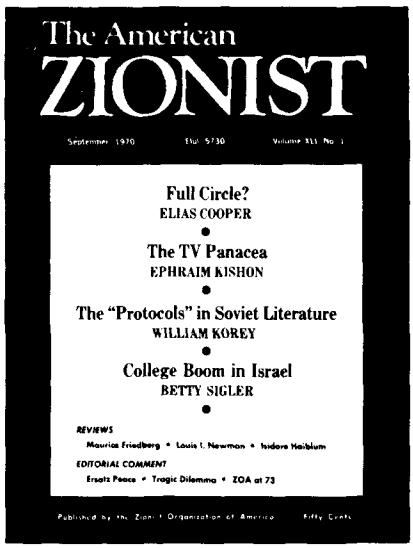

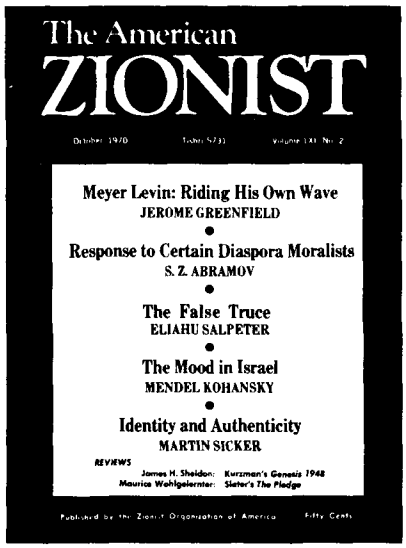

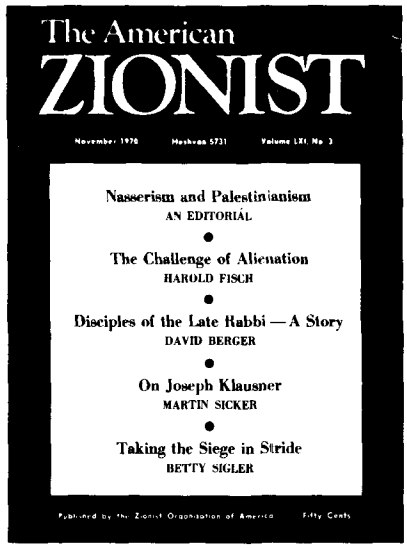

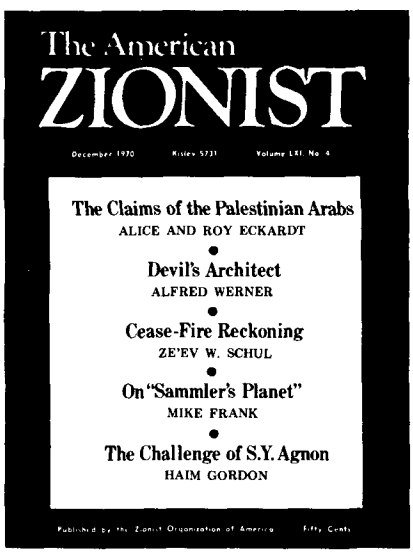

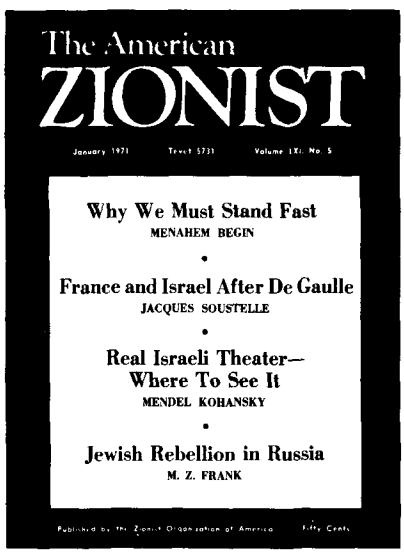

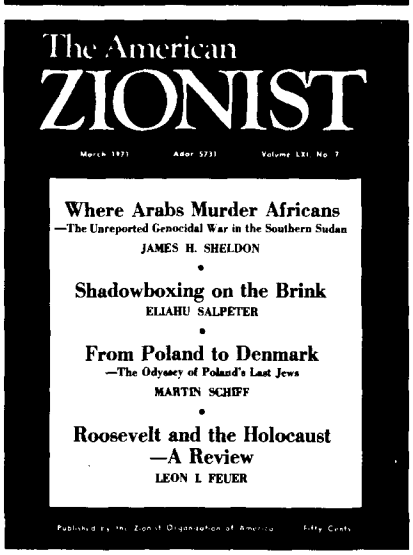

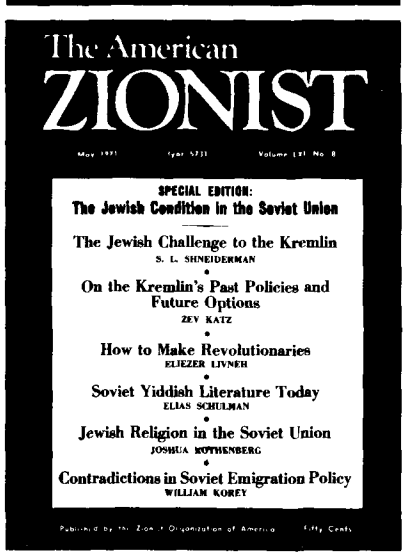

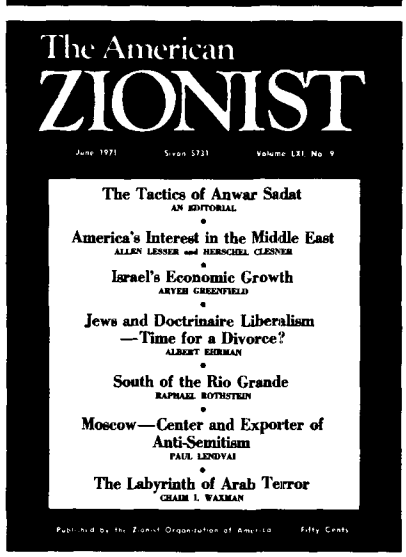

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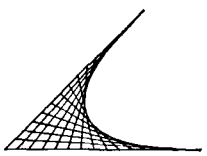

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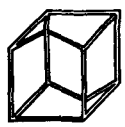

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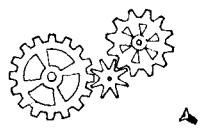

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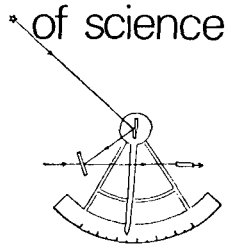

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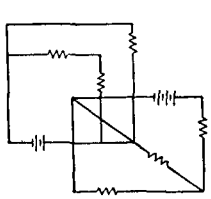

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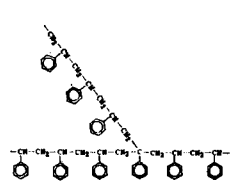

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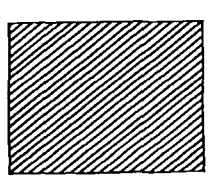

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On Ford Madox Ford

Peter Shaw

MODERN biography began as an attempt to look past the discreet veil thrown over public lives by official Victorian biographers. Lytton Strachey's *Queen Victoria* went to an extreme in exposing human frailties and was in turn corrected by the more balanced view of biographers who took up such modern disciplines as sociology and psychology. In our own time, modern biography has traveled so far from its original debunking impulse as quietly to have returned to the magisterial extensiveness of the Victorian form.

Actually there were two kinds of Victorian biographies, one titling itself "The Life and Letters of . . . ," and the other "The Life and Times of . . ."; both were essentially collections of documents strung together by the biographer's narrative. Aside from their now discredited aim of imposing an officially acceptable portrait, these old-fashioned biographies sought, as their titles suggest, to leave either a record of the period or the record of a man's life as he had written it in letters, journals, and autobiography. Recent biographies, in returning to extensive quotations from such documents, show a greater affinity with the 19th-century impulse to provide a historical record than with the early modern delight in exposé.

The modern, definitive biography, often three volumes or the equivalent in length, just like the Victorian three-volume novel, has come under attack for a tedious slavishness to too many facts, for lack of sympathy with its subject, and for failure to provide a coherent explanation of the life it so exhaustively traces. All of these criticisms, while more or less well taken, reflect not on the modern form of biography, it seems to me, but on its practitioners. There is nothing about thoroughness and accuracy that necessarily leads to boredom; on the other hand, even a biographical essay will seem interminable if its author has not mastered the form. Perhaps because there has as yet developed no biographical calling comparable to the novelistic one, and additionally because critics have only recently begun to treat biography as an art, the new biographers have often failed to utilize and control the formal elements of their art.

In modern biographies, for example, one too often loses the developmental pattern—how old, one wonders, is the subject at the point of each adventure in life (biographies used to trace this at the top of each page—"*aetat* 55," as Boswell's *Life of Johnson* has it); what does he look like at each stage; which behavioral peculiarities are now typical of him?

Arthur Mizener's biography of Ford Madox Ford* has been accused of most of the failings of the exhaustive modern biography, especially lack of sympathy. The truth is that Mizener actually has suppressed certain unfavorable details about Ford, toward whom he holds the biographer's correct mixture of sympathy and understanding. Both of these qualities are apparent in an excellent introduction which assesses Ford's life and works. The works are further discussed in a long appendix on Ford's novels as well as in the narrative itself, and Mizener consistently uses his biographical insight to provide the most dependable literary criticism of Ford that has ever been written. But what Mizener has failed to do is reflect his grasp of the subject onto his day-to-day narrative of Ford's life, with the result that the reader is forced to do a certain amount of the biographer's imaginative work—to infuse the narrative with that drama of the passage from birth to death that one experiences simply by glancing at the photographs before one even starts to read a modern biography.

BEGINNING in 1892, when he was eighteen, Ford Madox Ford turned out nearly two books per year until his death at the age of sixty-three in 1939. In the same period, he regularly wrote travel articles, book reviews, prefaces, and letters, some of which have been collected into additional volumes since his death. Along the way he lived with four women and had affairs with at least four others, suffered two nervous breakdowns, had his health broken during two years' service in World War I, and spent a good deal of his time reading and correcting the manuscripts of others, first as editor of the *English Review* in 1908-09 and later as editor of the *Transatlantic Review* in 1923-24. Apparently he needed as well to turn out a steady stream of his own words to justify himself in the face of private and public criticisms of his conduct. Unable to deal with the scandals that seemed to attach themselves to him, Ford went beyond being autobiographical in the manner of most of the novelists of this century; he made his fiction a nearly explicit defense of his life.

Ford had managed to create public scandals both when he eloped at the age of twenty-one with eighteen-year-old Elsie Martindale, and when he left her for Violet Hunt, who became the second of four Mrs. Fords, none of whom he could legally marry after the first, who would not give him a divorce. All the time that he was tangled in the legal proceedings which accompanied his private life, Ford not only wrote profusely but experimented with nearly every conceivable form of prose narrative: he published children's

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* *The Saddest Story: A Biography of Ford Madox Ford*, World, 616 pp., $20.00.

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books, science fiction, historical romance, and novels of utopian satire, suspense, adventure, political allegory, and Jamesian comedy of manners. Remarkably, in story after story, an idealistic hero is victimized, usually by a vindictive woman resembling first Elsie Martindale, then Violet Hunt. Like Ford, the hero has a talent for allowing such women to ruin him financially and in the eyes of the public, but unlike Ford his actions are explained not by bad luck and poor timing, but by a stubborn chivalry which takes the form of his refusing publicly to defend himself against a woman, and his insistence on paying debts of honor while omitting to call in the debts owed to him.

This most prolific writer, then, had essentially one story to tell—an idealized version of the repeating pattern of his own life. One time in his career, when he was forty and writing his fifteenth novel, Ford told this story in a small masterpiece, *The Good Soldier*. His original, sentimental title for this book was "The Saddest Story," the title Mizener has taken for his biography of Ford. Like everything else about the novel, the fortuitous change in title, suggested by Ford's publisher, had the effect of just sufficiently reducing the sentimentality with which Ford viewed his own situation to free his talents for their single, appointed triumph.

THE mark of Ford's life, like that of his recurring hero, was indefiniteness. Ford seems to have been one of those people whom you cannot pin down. Some autonomous process is going on in them and though they see you and hear you—indeed, may even years after a conversation recall what you said better than you can yourself—they never seem to be in direct contact with you. They show up at appointments, yet somehow it always seems a surprise when they do, so unclear had they seemed about the time and the place. As the process of fictional justification grew more important to him, Ford seems to have lost the ability to experience life directly. Eventually he could tell what had happened to him only in the act of setting it down in fiction, just as his characters could come to know their own emotions only in the act of attempting to recall what had happened to them. As he grew older, even the people who knew and loved Ford best treated with him from a certain distance—he became "dear, old Fordie," a genius underneath his vagaries, but not someone with whom you could be intimate or direct.

Though highly self-conscious, Ford lacked self-knowledge, and though a sharp observer of behavior, understood little about people. The message of one of his early books was that "the heart of another is a dark forest." Critics of *The Good Soldier* have taken its narrator's confession that he knew neither his own heart nor those of his wife and best friend as evidence that Ford meant the narrator to be taken ironically; but in fact he speaks for Ford himself. The character, Dowell, is generous and selfless to the point of pathology, and so was Ford. When *Romance*, one of his collaborations with Joseph Conrad, was published, Ford tried to help Conrad out of his financial difficulties by writing an anonymous review calculated to elevate Conrad's reputation alone. In addition, Ford gave up his own writing time to take down, in shorthand, installments of Conrad's novels when his friend had trouble meeting his deadlines. Years later Ford, already well-known for his exaggerations, had his reputation seriously damaged when Conrad's wife attacked his claim, since substantiated, that he had gone so far in helpfulness as to have written parts of these books.

When he began to work with Conrad, Ford had already developed a literary method that corresponded to the lack of definition in his own personality. This was impressionism, later to be refined into the sophisticated technique of *The Good Soldier*. At its inception the method consisted in minute descriptions of characters and events without authorial hints about motivation or plot. Everything is to be deduced from the author's close rendering of what each character sees and hears and from how he expresses himself (usually, with irritating Fordian verisimilitude, in broken phrases). It develops often in a Ford novel that the characters, and sometimes the narrator, are reacting to the unfolding of the same situation that the reader is trying to penetrate. The subject and drama of Ford's books thus center not in what is happening or has happened but in the process of discovery shared by the characters, the narrator, and the reader.

Though impressionism's minuteness of description, with its resultant confusion in the reader's mind about just what it is that he is witnessing, reminds one of the French *nouveau roman*, Ford's impressionism paradoxically expressed not the modern French writer's distrust of reality but rather Ford's faith that reality could be trusted to reveal itself if only he closely reproduced the appearances behind which it hid. For his method Ford deserves his reputation as a modernist, but his spirit remained less than modern, and this may be part of the reason why his method ended up running away with him. For too often he traced impressions so exhaustively as to create a jumble of contrasting effects too minute and too numerous to serve as objective correlatives of his characters' experiences. The simple truth about most of Ford's books is that they are often incomprehensible both in their action and their significance. The only written recognition of this fact that I have seen appears in an epigraph to *The Saddest Story*; it comes from a suitably cryptic letter by Ezra Pound about Ford:

> Yes. Yes. F. a prubblum—knew more than any—see how good ———is, when obeyin F's formula —'n' then F. don't & cobwebs, etc etc

When he was good he was very, very good, but when he was bad . . . cobwebs.

IN HIS own time Ford was attacked not for obscurity but for twisting the truth in his autobiographies and memoirs. As early as 1910 he defended himself against his critics by insisting that *his* truth lay in the accurate rendering of his impressions of men and events, and that the accusation of lying only reflected his critics' vul-

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gar need for a mundane objectivity. In principle Ford was right, of course; and indeed, his memories of Conrad, Henry James, Stephen Crane, Dreiser, and others remain entertaining and valuable.*

On the other hand, Ford's autobiographies are, on the whole, disappointing; and they fail, it seems to me, precisely because their method is unsuitable to their form. No writer, in point of fact, can reproduce reality in an autobiography: no matter how accurately truthful he attempts to be, he must end up with a written *version* of what happened, not the thing itself. It does not follow, nevertheless, that one may just as well employ an impressionistic method as attempt accuracy. Though one *ends* with an impression, the results of beginning with one are very different from what they are when one struggles to reproduce the reality that was. For, out of the tension between memory and history arises the art of autobiography.

For Ford, what had begun as a method of containing personal experience became, beginning with his memoirs and autobiographies, largely an end in itself. Like Dowell in *The Good Soldier* Ford wrote at his best when he used impressionistic memory to recapture the painful moments of his past; in giving them form he gave them meaning. But at some point in his career Ford began to live life itself impressionistically; thereafter, his books became impressions not of events but of his impressions of events, and then—". . . cobwebs." Thus impressionism acted as an addictive drug, beginning by obliterating Ford's pain, ending by obliterating his personality.

It is hard to say when or how Ford started living life impressionistically. If, as it seems to me, he did so in reaction to difficulties, then one can suppose him to have

* Excerpts from Ford's eight volumes of reminiscences have been collected in *Your Mirror to My Times: The Selected Autobiographies and Impressions of Ford Madox Ford*, edited by Michael Killigrew, Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 392 pp., $10.00.

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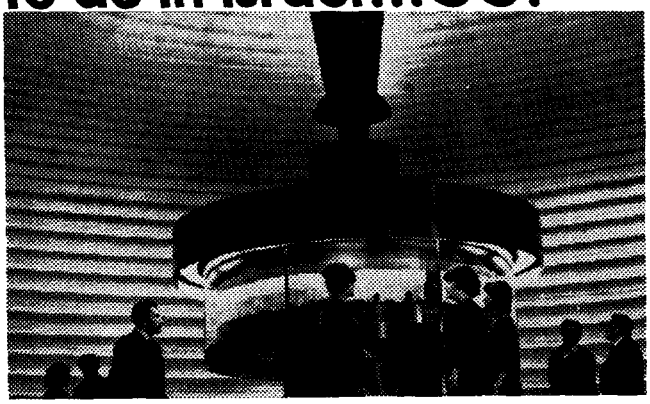

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begun to withdraw from a direct confrontation of experience with his first wife's growing shrewishness—Ford usually represented pain as a man's recollection of a woman's verbal cruelty. He suffered a mental breakdown in 1904 when *Romance,* the product of a decade of collaboration with Conrad, failed to sell. Impressionism could still for a time after this serve as a way to hold on to sanity: this is what Dowell uses it for in *The Good Soldier,* as a self-protective way of ordering his maddening past. During World War I, however, a shell bursting near Ford brought on a loss of memory from which he suffered for three or four years. After this time his characters seem to be remembering not scenes which the reader might hope to reconstruct but, as in the case of Tietjens, the hero of *Parade's End* (who also suffers memory loss in a shelling), an existence that was fragmented to begin with.

His friends had always been aware of the lack of definition in Ford's character. Despite his generosities, his literary relationships tended to suffer from one or another kind of confused misunderstanding over a promise, an invitation, a manuscript. By 1909 Conrad had decided that he was "a megalomaniac who imagines that he is managing the Universe and that everybody treats him with the blackest ingratitude. . . . I do not hesitate to say that there are cases, not quite as bad, under medical treatment." Conrad was talking about Ford during a period of breakdown over his loss of the editorship of the *English Review* and the breakup of his first marriage. But after the war the early descriptions of him by enemies like Wyndham Lewis and friends like Conrad began to be applicable to his permanent condition. H. G. Wells was cruel in describing the later Ford, but his use of the word "tortuous" suggests that he was talking about an undeniable exacerbation of Ford's vagueness.

> The pre-war F.M.H. [Wells always knew him as Hueffer, the name Ford changed in going from Violent Hunt to Stella Bowen] was tortuous but understandable, the post-war F.M.H. was incurably *crazy.* He got crazier and crazier.

Not crazier, in fact, though he could have been called that right after the war, but vaguer and vaguer—and more eccentric. He became "messy" not only in his relations with people but literally so with his person and belongings. Hemingway tells what Mizener omits—that it was hard to be in a room with Ford because he smelled. The descriptions by friends of a great Falstaffian elephant, with, in Robert Lowell's poem about him, "mouth pushed out fish-fashion, as if you gagged for air," all suggest disorientation, the triumph over his life itself of an art of indefiniteness.

Increasingly, Ford attached to himself the self-idealization that he had begun by projecting onto the characters in his books. Near the end, he supplied the trustees of Olivet College with information for the citation to be read as he was awarded an honorary degree. It may have been a joke that he was playing this time, but the imaginary details made up the familiar myth of himself that he had built up in conversations over the years.

> At the Olivet commencement on June 19, Professor Akley, the college orator, found himself telling the assembled company that Ford was "a Dr. of Agriculture of the university of Sorbonne," that he had "known war as a colonel in charge of two regiments in action," that he had been the "first to praise Dreiser in England, first to credit Joyce and Stein . . . first to publish a short story by Arnold Bennett and by Galsworthy" and was the "guarantor of Conrad's first novel, *Aylmer's* [*sic*] *Folly.*"

"Dr. of Agriculture" stood for Ford's love of Provence, where he often kept a kitchen garden, and perhaps for the francophile propaganda book he had written during the war—the French might have awarded him a degree for it had they wished to. He had been attached, as a second lieutenant, to two different regiments, yet, though the shell-burst by which he was stunned qualified him to speak as often as he did on the subject of war, he had never been in action or at the front. He had to his credit an honorable record as friend and editor of the authors he named, and of others as well, but he was not quite their first discoverer or their last resort. Ford's life and books had become suffused with a William Morris-like utopianism consisting of praise for the market gardener, the small producer, Provence, organic foods, *noblesse* (which he lacked) *oblige,* the Catholic church (to which he didn't belong), and 18th-century Toryism (which didn't represent his politics). He became, sadly, a fat, wheezing Lear who but slenderly knew himself.

To a point Ford's dedication to his art commands sympathy and respect—one cannot forget Robert Lowell's line: "Tell me why the bales of your left-over novels buy less than a bandage for your gouty foot." But then one should not forget, either, that the same impressionism which Ford took up as a tool to shape the meaning of life into art came to dominate his very mode of living. Leading the artistic life involved in his case not simply the writer's devotion to art but a sacrifice to it of that reality without which the artist of all people has no dependable starting point.

The artist must live as other men but regard life differently from the way they do. When once he begins to conduct his life in accordance with his artistic views, he loses the possibility of interpreting the experience of his fellows. This is what is meant by being too "literary." The writer's treatment of life may be as recherché as he pleases to make it, and yet readers will trouble to learn how to decipher him. But when once his subject lacks the touch of common humanity, his method suddenly appears arbitrary and obscure. Ford began by regarding his life sentimentally and ended by living it so. At just one point, before the war changed him, he looked at the facts with just the necessary impressionistic heightening to produce *The Good Soldier.* It was a work that wrested art from life, but it could not, in his case, rescue life from art.

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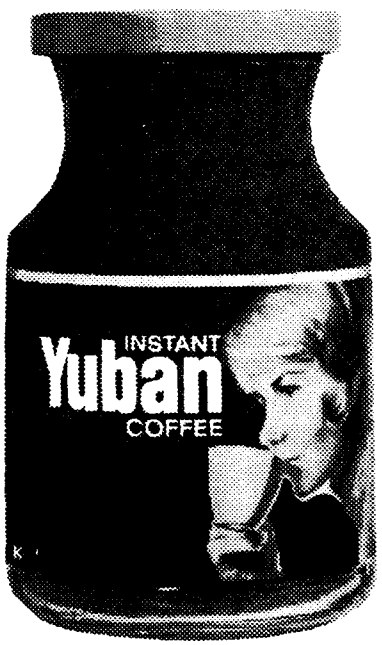

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Portrait of a Nation

THE ISRAELIS: FOUNDERS AND SONS. By AMOS ELON. *Holt, Rinehart & Winston. 359 pp. $10.00.*

Reviewed by ROBERT ALTER

IN THE flood of recent works on Zionism, Israel, and the Middle East, Amos Elon's *The Israelis* stands out as a uniquely valuable book—valuable for its searching portrait of the classical Zionist character and the temper of Israel today, valuable also as an impressive document of the unflinching critical self-consciousness one sees more and more among younger Israeli intellectuals. Sketching the outlines of a collective personality is inevitably a risky business, but Elon brings to the task unusual resources of perception, a stylistic gift for the evocation of concrete predicaments and felt experience, and an admirably sound method. His argument, built around vivid anecdotal illustration, reads so easily that it may seem casually put together, but in fact it is very carefully conceived, much of it on the basis of patient research.

Because of the research, the first half of the volume, devoted to the ideologically fervent immigrants who shaped the Zionist settlement in the early decades of this century, is especially illuminating. Elon has gone through dozens of volumes of memoirs, correspondence, kibbutz and movement records, and other documents of the period, in order to penetrate to the psycho-historical realities behind the ideological stances. Scraping away the patina of propagandistic stereotypes that obscures our vision of the Zionist Founders, he uncovers human faces that are far more troubled, more ambiguous, and more interesting than the cherished clichés. The Second Aliyah,* for example, is likely to call to mind notions of lofty idealism, selfless dedication to the task of national rebuilding, unswerving commitment to the principles of a progressive ideology of redemption. Elon discounts none of this, but he is also quick to remind us that at least 60 per cent, perhaps as many as 90 per cent, of all those who came in the Second Aliyah subsequently re-emigrated, and that those who stayed, paying a predictable human price for their ideological steadfastness, "were marked by a terrible sincerity and by an almost inhuman sense of rectitude." (Elsewhere, Elon comments shrewdly on the persistent strain of moralism in Israeli political thinking and Israeli public discourse, a moralism that would seem to be a direct and abiding result of that "inhuman rectitude" of the Founders.) Elon is keenly aware that not all that issues in ideology is ideological in origin. Using the memoirs and letters of the Founders as evidence, he argues convincingly that there was a large component of pure filial rebellion in the Zionism of the early settlers, a desire to break away from East-European fathers and the oppressive values of hearth and home for a life of adventure in exotic climes, of footloose (or even barefoot) freedom in a bohemian style that has something in common with later youth rebellions elsewhere.

In another direction, where we still tend to perpetuate the stereotype of the joyful pioneer, indefatigably draining swamps through the day, dancing an exuberant *hora* half the night, Elon uncovers a vein of bleak fanaticism, even of despair, in the *halutz* movement. His evocation of Bittania, an extremist commune of Hashomer Hatzair founded in the early 20's, is a haunting case in point. Bittania was later described by one of its members who had broken away as a "monastic order without God." Each evening, intense discussion-sessions were held lasting from three to six hours, which included a half-hour of silent meditation, castigations of members for their moral failings, insistent exhortations to true utopian consciousness, confessions by couples of the details of their sex lives and their struggle to separate sex from the hedonistic snares of bourgeois privatism. It is hardly surprising that some of the members of Bittania should have expressed death-wishes in their public confessions, or that one comrade in fact shot himself, a copy of *The Brothers Karamazov* by his side.

A BOOK devised solely to explode old Zionist myths would offer a facile and finally superficial account of its subject. One of the most impressive qualities of *The Israelis* is Elon's ability to see the greatness in Zionist madness, the large historical necessity in Zionism's tragic failures of perception. Thus, he documents with unswerving rigor the inability of the Zionist Founders—from Herzl and Nordau to the Ben-Gurion of the Mandatory era—first, simply to take in the fact that Palestine really had several hundred thousand Arab inhabitants, then, to imagine concretely that these Arabs could have powerful national aspirations of their own. (With a characteristic eye for the telling detail, Elon notes that in 1881, the very year when Pinsker composed his *Auto-Emancipation* and when members of the "Lovers of Zion" movement in Russia were writing of Palestine as a "wasteland," Arab nationalists in Beirut and Damascus were circulating clandestine pamphlets calling for Arab independence in Syria, Lebanon, and Palestine.) Nothing could be cheaper than the quick condemnation of this crucial Zionist blindness on the strength of historical hindsight. Elon's empa-

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*The second wave of pioneers to Palestine—the first was the Bilu movement of the 1880's—which started in 1905, in the wake of the abortive October revolution in Russia and the subsequent pogroms, and which lasted until the outbreak of World War I in 1914.

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thetic imagination, however, leads to a fine understanding that for a late-19th-century European—and classical Zionism was a profoundly European movement—any other perception of this unknown extra-European terrain was scarcely possible. The final balance Elon draws of the Founders' failure to see the Arabs before their eyes is a model of humane, historically realistic judgment: "The Zionist leaders were frightened men seized by the vision of a world that could be both better and infinitely worse. An almost uncanny clarity of vision in one field—the coming apocalypse in Europe—came at the price of myopia in another. Like most visionaries their eyes were hung with monumental blinkers."

The same fullness of moral imagination informs Elon's account of the Israeli character and the present predicament of Israel. He is unhesitantly candid in his frequent comments on the real injustices suffered by Palestinian Arabs through the mere fact of Israel's existence, but, eschewing the currently popular gratifications of self-flagellating political moralism, he firmly observes that "it is easier to evaluate the injustice suffered by the Arabs than it is to devise means of correction that would not only be acceptable to Arabs but would also preclude an even greater human tragedy." The leading emphasis in his description of Israeli society involves, not surprisingly, a repeated calculation of the "price" of Zionism. He argues persuasively that the consciousness of the Holocaust—and, perhaps, the apprehension of future Holocausts—exerts a decisive influence on Israeli character. He observes the importance of rites of mourning, both individual and collective, as a central means for the achievement of a sense of national identity in Israel. He contends that there is a quality of "latent hysteria in Israeli life"—perhaps this might offer the real key to the insane driving habits of most Israelis?—directly connected with the Holocaust.

Less speculatively, Elon pointedly characterizes the Israeli's image of himself in the contemporary world as "a picture of utter loneliness," again because of the bitter experience of the Nazi years, in an eerie way confirmed by the long military and diplomatic encirclement that has followed. In regard to the state of siege, he notes the profound distaste for militarism that persists in Israeli society but offers some sobering reflections on the unpredictable effects of a long-term exposure to physical danger and the continuing exercise of armed violence. Elon's moral seriousness naturally leads him to give special weight to the worrisome aspects of the Israeli condition, sometimes perhaps at the cost of skimping data that may be honestly encouraging. Thus, four monitory pages are devoted to the portrait of Meir Har-Zion, a Jew turned hardened killer through his service in the Israeli army, while only passing mention is made of the generally extraordinary record of humane restraint—certainly in comparison with other armies—of Israeli fighting men, or of the manifestation of pacifist consciousness within the army itself. In any case, this is no sin of omission but merely a matter of emphasis, and Elon is surely right in preferring occasionally to risk the quaver of a Cassandra-note in order to avoid the danger of sounding like a voice from the local chamber of commerce.

POLITICALLY, culturally, historically, *The Israelis* is a ruthlessly realistic book, but it is by no means a grim one, because Elon sees his subject in all the richness of its contradictions and uses a lively wit of analysis to convey his perceptions. The wit serves to bring many incidental details into sharp focus, like the characterization of *Davar*, the Mapai daily newspaper, as "a curious mixture of early *Pravda* and old-style Quakerism," or the contention that "*gevaltism*"* is the chief quality of the Israeli press in general. On a larger scale, his witty sense of illustration and comparison becomes an ideal instrument for a full description of Israeli society. It is hard to think of another society that is such an improbable, outrageous, yet coherent patchwork of disparities, and no writer has seen this more clearly nor conveyed it more vividly than Elon. Israel, he observes near the end of his study, is both intensely "future oriented" and uniquely committed to the memory of the past, like someone "racing ahead with his eyes turned back in a gaze transfixed by a landscape that constantly recedes into the distance." The new nation, he goes on to say, "is also badly orchestrated, like a band simultaneously playing an old Hasidic tune, a Wagnerian march, the 'Internationale,' and an atonal symphony by Schoenberg." It is the chief virtue of Amos Elon as a commentator that he can attend acutely to the separate and disparate strains, duly note the atrocious orchestration, yet never lose a sense for the peculiar strength and liveliness of the ensemble.

* From *gevalt*, the Yiddish expletive denoting a cry for help and suggesting the Israeli penchant for, as Elon puts it, "pessimistic prophesy."

The Politician

BOSS: RICHARD J. DALEY OF CHICAGO. By MIKE ROYKO. *Dutton. 215 pp. $5.95.*

Reviewed by JOSEPH EPSTEIN

UNTIL not too long ago, the general view of Chicago's longtime mayor, Richard J. Daley, was of a New Dealish liberal, a man of fairly decent instincts, and in matters having to do with city government a figure of towering competence. But all this is past history now. Since the Democratic Convention of 1968, Daley's reputation has slipped further and further, till today his portrait hangs high in the rogue's gallery of the Left, florid cheek by flaccid jowl alongside those of J. Edgar Hoover and Bull Connor.

Boss, Mike Royko's slender political biography, is a chronicle of Daley's rise from humble origins to national villainy. Mr. Royko is a columnist for the Chicago *Daily News*, and as such is one of the city's few journalistic ornaments. With the aid of a fine feel for the city of Chicago and a nice comic touch, over the years he has made

JOSEPH EPSTEIN's *articles and reviews appear regularly in these pages.*

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it hot for the boys down at City Hall while simultaneously wringing more laughs out of the subject of municipal corruption than one would have thought possible. Here, however, Royko isn't playing for laughs but for moral outrage against the way Richard J. Daley runs Chicago. Moral outrage being in abundant supply at this time, *Boss* seems to be having no great difficulty stirring up its share. In a particularly feverish review of the book in the *New Yorker,* Richard Harris has declared Chicago "a totalitarian state within America."

This, alas, has to be accounted the view of a tourist, and a very shallow one at that. Still, having no other evidence than that supplied by Mr. Royko to go on, it is almost understandable how one could come to so very silly a conclusion. Before sitting down to write his book, Mr. Royko evidently decided that the conventional wisdom that holds Richard J. Daley to be a flat-out s.o.b. was impeccable; and there remained only to supply the prose. The prose Royko has supplied is of a highly readable order, offering plenty of punchlines in a brisk narrative that refuses to be slowed down by the complexities of either character or event. Such is the uniform hostility of *Boss* to its subject that any attempt to understand Daley is precluded; the book is, quite simply, an unremitting hatchet job.

Yet after banging away at every scandal, hint of scandal, and honest mistake that has occurred during Daley's sixteen years as Mayor of Chicago, Royko is nevertheless unable to account for the inconvenient fact that Richard J. Daley is generally conceded to be the most effective big-city Mayor now in office in America. Why should a man of such slight personal attractiveness, such ostensibly small gifts, such overall unimpressiveness, be so good at a job—that of running a city of roughly three-and-a-half million people—that most experts seem to feel is no longer possible? Although he does not say so straight out, the underlying message of Royko's book seems to be that Daley is effective because he is an essentially evil man who controls an evil machine operating in

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an evil system—and evil, whatever else it is, is efficient, or so Royko appears to believe. Thus Daley, rather like Mussolini, in Royko's version, makes the trains run on time.

BUT if one wishes to consider other possibilities than that of Daley's being the devil's representative on earth, then one might look into three factors that appear to distinguish Richard J. Daley from all other big-city Mayors. The first is that he is not an overreacher: he does not want to be Governor, he does not want to be Senator, he does not even want to be President—he is perfectly content to be Mayor of Chicago and, when the Democrats have the White House, the second most powerful politician in America. The second factor is that Daley has a will—a very rage, it is not going too far to say—for order, for he runs Chicago not in the corporate style that is the rule today in most other large cities, but rather as if it were a highly successful family business. The third and final factor is that Daley is almost completely without political vision of any kind.

To say that Daley is without political vision is merely to say that he pretty much takes the world as it is—and not as he or anyone else thinks it ought to be. Nor is he overzealous in his desire to change it. Daley does not entertain the very highest view of human nature; he believes, in fact, that most people will only do those things that they feel it is in their interest to do. He, Daley, puts up skyscrapers, lays down freeways, creates jobs, keeps commerce and traffic flowing, but he neither educates nor attempts to build character in the electorate. He is not so much a leader of people as he is a manipulator of different—often seemingly implacably opposed—interests. But interests, in order to gain a hearing from Daley, must be organized. In the middle 1960's, for example, when the late Martin Luther King, Jr. determined to bring his campaign of moral suasion up north to Chicago, people with a surer sense of Daley than King's tried to warn him against doing so. As the more political-minded of the civil-rights leaders knew, Daley would finally have only one question to ask of the King campaign in Chicago: How many votes has the Southern Christian Leadership Conference?

Which is not to say that Daley is a racist but only that he is perhaps the most unrelievedly political personality around today. He is, moreover, political in a fashion that has always repelled the morally enthusiastic—he is, in other words, a thorough professional. When a federal program is initiated in Washington, he does not ask what is its quality but instead how Chicago can make use of it. When a scandal occurs, he does not ask whether the man caught in the middle of it is guilty or not—in Chicago, he generally is—but rather has the man in question now become a greater liability than asset, and must he therefore be sacrificed to the gods of public opinion? When presented with a candidate, be it for Cook County Assessor or for President of the United States, his first question is, invariably, not where does the man stand on the issues but can he win the election?

It is the way Richard Daley learned the game. Royko, himself a Chicagoan, describes at some length the roughneck political atmosphere of the neighborhood clubs and ward shenanigans in which Daley grew up, received political catechism, and eventually came to power. Although Daley is the least pretentious of politicians and has never made any attempt to cover up his political origins, Royko is not above using them against him:

> While Daley was mediating negotiations between white trade unions and black groups who wanted the unions to accept blacks, a young militant angrily rejected one of his suggestions and concluded, "Up your ass." Daley leaped to his feet and answered, "And up yours too." Would John Lindsay have become so involved?

SO INEVITABLE does the comparison of Daley with Lindsay seem that it is surprising that Royko doesn't attempt to make more of it than he actually does. What a splendid foil each man is for the other! Physically, temperamentally, intellectually, above all in matters of style and social class, they seem such diametric opposites as very nearly to belong to different species. Lindsay has come to represent in the public mind the new and the with-it, while Daley is now more usually thought of as emblematic of all that is old-line, out-of-it, and retrograde. In what may be the reigning cliché of the 1970's, Lindsay is said to be for people, Daley for mere things.

Yet, curiously enough, in recently comparing himself with John Lindsay, Richard Daley has said: "Mayor Lindsay and I have more in common than most people think." What could he have had in mind? The problems of their respective jobs for one thing; their common craving for power, for another. Daley has long been accustomed to power, both in its subtle and brutal aspects, seems to know all its uses, and is not in the least wary of using it. But Lindsay's objective circumstances require that his appetite for power remain modulated: because he does not have a strong machine behind him, as Daley does, and because he has it in mind to end up in higher places than Gracie Mansion, he appears to have given up for now the task of chalking up any great achievements in running New York and is simply trying to avoid disaster. As Lindsay must ever strain to appear the philosopher in New York, so Daley must be rather careful not to appear too much the king in Chicago.

In Daley's city political power is called "clout." All clout starts in the Office of the Mayor, whence it wends its way down through other levels of municipal government, still retaining some snap even for relatives of assistant Democratic precinct captains. In Chicago this elaborate clout-dispensing device is called the Machine. The Machine makes possible political favors of of all sorts, from million-dollar tax breaks to allowing someone to slip out of jury duty, and collects its due-bills around election time. "Machine" has come to be a bad word in American politics; indeed, even Richard Daley now disdains it, preferring in its place "organization."

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Yet apart from these niceties of political sensibility, a machine is successful by definition. When it is not, Jake Arvey, Daley's predecessor as Chairman of the Cook County Democratic party, has said, "it's just a group of men and women. Organization and discipline have always made the difference between victory and defeat over the years—and they still do." As head of the Cook County machine, Arvey was the man perhaps most responsible for bringing Adlai Stevenson and Paul Douglas into national politics—which merely indicates that a machine need not have a built-in anti-liberal or any other kind of bias.

Chicago's intensely ethnic makeup, its fairly strict division into Irish, Polish, Italian, Negro, and Jewish neighborhoods, makes it more susceptible to machine government than most other big cities, with each ethnic group, as the sociologist Andrew Greeley has argued, being a bargaining unit unto itself. Nor, in theory, need government-by-machine be any less democratic than any other form of municipal government. In reality, however, political machines tend to attract fairly unexalted types—men with little reach but sure grasp. A political kibbitzer in Chicago once remarked to me on the occasion of a large fund-raising dinner that Daley had thrown for John F. Kennedy, "Ah, you should have been there. Every size-46 suit in the city was in attendance." Yet those same size-46 suits helped knock off Richard Nixon in 1960.

The typical machine politician in Chicago is as different from the typical Lindsay staffer as Lindsay himself is from Daley. The Lindsay group, so polished in appearance and so disappointing in performance, seem so much more effective on talk-shows than at City Hall. Daley, on the other hand, is a public-relations-man's nightmare on television and something very close to a genius at maintaining control over the minutiae involved in keeping a city running. One is in the end bound to say, the one man is an amateur, the other a pro.

To Mike Royko, however, Daley is little more than a variety of thug —a superior thug, even the king of

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thugs, but a thug nonetheless. In describing Daley's actions during the 1968 Democratic Convention in Chicago, for example, the case that Royko makes out against Daley is not that he overreacted, or made a foolish mistake, but rather that he shed his false skin to reveal, at long last, his essential self. Everyone who has followed Daley's career over the years has his own pet theory about what happened in '68. That he overreacted is beyond question; but I think one can go further to say that he became completely unstrung, that he even, quite possibly, flipped. For in failing to restrain his police force he committed, among other things, an unpardonably stupid political act. And whatever else one might wish to call Richard Daley, no one, so far as I know, has ever called him a politically stupid man.

Although no one is about to confuse Richard Daley with Lord Melbourne, still, skill of the kind Daley has demonstrated in running a large modern city ought not to be so easily gainsaid as it is in Royko's pages. It is all very well for a radical of sentimental stripe like Studs Terkel to remark of Daley, "He's marvelous when it comes to building things like highways, parking lots, and industrial complexes. But when it comes to healing the aches and hurts of human beings, Daley comes up short." The question, however, arises: When it comes to healing the aches and hurts of human beings, who comes up long? John Lindsay? Sam Yorty of Los Angeles? Carl Stokes of Cleveland? But then since when have Mayors been charged with "healing" to begin with? Since, one can only imagine, the time within recent years that political language became so inflated as to leave the ground of reality altogether, and aldermen were required to have "charisma," water commissioners were sounded out on Vietnam, and Chicago became a totalitarian state.

There is something touchingly naive about a man like Mike Royko, who normally prides himself on his toughmindedness, locating the responsibility for almost all that is wrong with the world in the office of the Mayor of the City of Chicago. Get rid of Daley, the argument implicit in his book runs, and the millennium is here. A sounder, more sophisticated, and (to my mind) healthier view was recently expressed by a neighbor of my father's. A man in his seventies and a resident of Chicago for his entire life, he is an Irish Catholic, like Daley, against whom he voted this past spring for the first time in the five times that Daley has successfully run for Mayor. He credits Daley with great intelligence, and does not believe him personally corrupt; he does, however, feel that the Daley machine has been in power in the city longer than is good for anyone. He was aware that voting against Daley was a fairly empty gesture, but nevertheless he did it. "It's time," his reasoning went, "for a new set of thieves."

De Mortuis

THE OBITUARY BOOK. By ALDEN WHITMAN. *Stein and Day. 284 pp. $7.95.*

Reviewed by
WERNER J. DANNHAUSER

PROGRESS always dazzles, especially when we suddenly realize that something has improved without having previously been aware of its need for improvement.

This thought has been prompted by Alden Whitman's selection of his thirty-seven favorite obituaries from the many he has written since 1964 in his capacity as Chief Obituary Writer of the New York *Times*. Before coming upon Mr. Whitman's volume—which includes obituaries of men as far apart as Sherman Billingsley and Ho Chi Minh and women as far apart as Alice B. Toklas and Fannie Hurst—I had never, simply to confess it, thought about obituaries at all. Even my meditations on the topic of death itself were deplorably infrequent when judged by the standards set by the wise men of old; what is worse, they were clumsy and oafish. Stimulated by a severe case of heartburn mistaken for a heart attack, I might spend as much as five minutes pondering the existentialist notion that death is not the stranger we meet at the end of the road but rather the terrible highwayman lurking behind some bush along an endless road; or I might occasionally unleash my impoverished sociological imagination and wonder dully about the horizons of morticians and the private lives of gravediggers. But never, to confess it once more, did I ever contemplate obituaries, let alone the people who compose them.

I was, of course, an inveterate if casual reader of obituaries, as most men are. They provided me with useful information, it surely being an embarrassment to refer to the famous or infamous dead in the present tense, and a socially sanctioned form of amusement the roots of which had best remain buried. Moreover, civilization being among other things an arrangement to keep us from seeing the corpses of men, and even of animals, I had little daily contact with death except through the media in general and obituaries in particular. But in my heedless way, I took the latter as I found them, unmindful of their qualities. Although, in short, I have read the obituaries in the New York *Times* for more than two decades, I never noticed the inauguration, in 1965, of what the dust jacket on Mr. Whitman's book describes as the "Obituary Revolution."

Mr. Whitman is both the theoretician and executor of that revolution, its Marx and Lenin rolled into one, as it were. He manifests all the classical traits of the great revolutionary, beginning with the strength of will to identify the old with the bad. Cruel for the sake of kindness, he condemns the obituaries disgracing the *Times* before his reign—and still afflicting most American papers to this day—for their lack of "flashes of perception" and their "dull writing." His own dedication to the task of correcting this unfortunate state of affairs has led him to a genuine *Weltanschauung*, the distillation of which he presents in an introductory chapter and in the brief comments he has affixed to each of the thirty-seven samples of his work. So deep does Mr. Whitman's thought on the subject run that he even

WERNER J. DANNHAUSER, *formerly an associate editor of* COMMENTARY, *teaches political science at Cornell University.*

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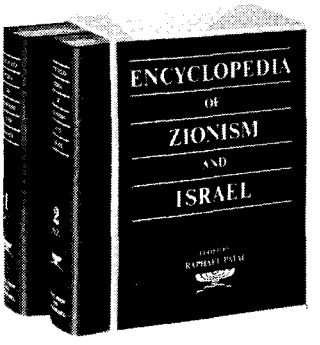
goes so far as to question the very foundations of the obituarist's endeavor, the granting of what he calls a "memorial in print" to well-known personages only. He understands that practice to be based on the deluded notion that "names make news" and he regrets the fact that "the taxi driver, the construction worker, the housewife and mother, tend to be ignored in death." All men, it evidently seems to Mr. Whitman, have an inalienable right to equal "post-mortem inches of type." Since, however, as we learn from Mr. Whitman himself, 146,000 persons die in the world every day, the demands of perfect justice are too severe even for so bulky a journal as the New York *Times*. What, then, is to be done?

Mr. Whitman refuses to be hobbled by such dilemmas. True revolutionary that he is, he neither abstains from noble dreams, nor permits himself to sink into futile utopian speculations; he does what he can, and what he can do is continue in his efforts to raise the humble obituary to an authentic form of art.

In this effort he is guided by a precise vision of what an obituary should be: "The recital of the main features of a life and the person who led it . . . constructed as a whole and written with grace." An obituary differs from a biography in that the latter "takes a point of view," whereas a "good obit should not be a partisan document." But detachment is not always easy to maintain, as Mr. Whitman at one point forthrightly admits: "I must say that I admired Maurois and I think the obituary shows it." One might also add that he betrays a certain distaste for the vagaries of Westbrook Pegler's life and Albert Schweitzer's "do-good paternalism toward Africans." Such lapses, however, are hardly characteristic of Mr. Whitman's work. Much more characteristic is his loyalty to the principle of writing with grace as, for example, when he says of Norman Thomas's socialism that "It was to Marxism what Muzak is to Mozart." And this stylistic brilliance operates in the service of Mr. Whitman's irrepressible urge to explore and extend the possibilities of the art-form in which he works. Mr. Whitman, indeed, does himself a certain injustice when he suggests that he has merely attempted to recite the main features of the lives he recounts. Actually, he has sought to do much more, attempting in almost every case to be equal to the special expertise of his subjects. Thus, when he writes of Martin Buber he fearlessly delves into such "abstruse matters" as the I-Thou relationship; he seizes on the occasion of Albert Luthuli's death "to say something about South Africa"; and in connection with the death of the ill-fated Alexander Kerensky, he attempts nothing less than "an outline of the Russian Revolution."

THE success of the Revolution—Mr. Whitman's "Obituary Revolution," that is—can in no small measure be credited to an innovation he has introduced: "The interview with a small number of likely obituary subjects" in order to "add an extra dimension to the finished



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obit.—a sense of intimacy with the man or woman whose life is being portrayed." His skill in securing the consent of the eminent to this delicate project is illustrated by his account of a conversation with Anthony Eden. At first Lord Avon was adamant in his refusal to cooperate but Mr. Whitman, telephoning him,

> . . . had the wit to say, "But, sir, this is not an interview for now but for the future." "Oh," he replied, brightening, "you mean it's for when I'm dead." "Well, that's the short of it," I said. "In that case," he continued, "do come and have tea with me at the House of Lords."

The imposing list of other distinguished persons who have cooperated includes Harry Truman, Samuel Beckett, Vladimir Nabokov, Henry Miller, Graham Greene, Marc Chagall, Conrad Aiken, and Dean Acheson. Among the "remarkably few" who were churlish enough to refuse he mentions General Montgomery and Edmund Wilson. Presumably Mr. Whitman will not hold this against them when the time comes, as it must, to give them their "send-offs in print."

And some day, if he keeps up the good work, Mr. Whitman will himself be entitled to an estimable number of "post-mortem inches of type," and will, moreover, deserve well of the Great Obituarist in the Sky.

Doctrine of Contempt

JESUS AND ISRAEL. By JULES ISAAC. Edited and with a Foreword by Claire Huchet Bishop. Translated by Sally Gran. *Holt, Rinehart & Winston. 405 pp. $12.50.*

Reviewed by ARTHUR A. COHEN

IT HAS been the fairly typical experience of many a cultured European Jew in the modern age to have discovered Judaism only on the way back from Western Christian civilization; to have made the acquaintance of the Old Testament through the filter of the New; to have become proficient in Greek and not Hebrew; to have grown up under a congenial nationalism, which however much it drew support from a conservative (often reactionary) Church, yet maintained sufficient independence from the latter's fanaticism to allow Jews to ignore their Judaism without serious effect. This was surely the situation of Jules Isaac, the distinguished French-Jewish historian whose established world was irrevocably shattered by the anti-Semitic decrees of Vichy and by the arrest, deportation, and murder—in 1942—of his wife and daughter by the Nazis.

Jules Isaac was born of Alsatian parents in the Brittany town of Rennes in 1877. His grandfather had served in Napoleon's *Grande Armée* and his father was a professional army officer. The family considered themselves Jewish, but such designation was without particular significance. Religiously non-observant ("non-confessional," is the term Isaac preferred), their only brush with the consequence of their Jewishness was the Dreyfus Affair, which brought young Jules to the moral barricades alongside Charles Péguy, who was to remain one of his closest friends. But Isaac, unlike Péguy, whose own Catholicism was the more passionately radicalized by the episode, remained relatively unshaken in his French-bourgeois liberalism. The Affair subsided and Isaac went on to become an eminent historian (author of the seven-volume *Cours d'Histoire,* which has been a standard text for several generations of French students); a decorated veteran of World War I (wounded at Verdun); a talented servant of the state (Inspector General of Education for all of France); an officer of the Légion d'Honneur. When France fell in 1940 and special calamity overtook the Jewish population, the events found him totally unprepared.

Taking refuge in the unoccupied zone, Isaac embarked on an attempt to come to an intellectual understanding of the catastrophe. He began by raising the question of the genesis of racial anti-Semitism. The peculiar ferocity of the Nazi hatred of the Jews, it seemed to him,

ARTHUR A. COHEN's The Myth of the Judeo-Christian Tradition *has recently been reissued in a paperback edition by Schocken Books.*

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could not be interpreted as merely an incidental appendage of totalitarianism, nor as a perversion of the specific forms of modernity—capitalism or nationalism—as some had suggested. As Isaac pondered the matter, he came to believe that the roots of the anti-Semitic phenomenon lay deeper, for how else to explain the traducing of an entire nation as the world looked silently on in apparent acquiescence? It did not take him long to find an answer. Working with borrowed books supplied by priests, pastors, and friends—particularly the four-volume commentary on the Gospels by Père Lagrange—he set out to document his intuition: that anti-Semitism, more precisely anti-Judaism, was a doctrine of contempt founded upon and elaborated from false and mendacious readings of the Gospels by historical Christian thought. Out of this anguished research came *Jesus and Israel*, now at last available to English readers. (The translation, by Sally Gran, is unusually fine; and the present edition, to its further enhancement, has been meticulously edited by Claire Huchet Bishop, the Catholic writer and friend of Isaac, who has also provided valuable annotation that extends and underscores Isaac's own footnotes.)

In this work Isaac propounds the following essential thesis: Whereas historical inquiry suggests the consensus of the Gospels that some Jews—notably the priestly caste (Caiaphas and his circle)—were offended by the teaching of Jesus and undoubtedly condemned him, the vast majority of the Jews of the time were unaware of the Galilean's existence or, when aware, regarded him with the honor due a master of such palpable spiritual gifts. These facts notwithstanding, a "teaching of contempt," as Isaac came to call the Christian-inspired anti-Semitism, began to take shape and to flourish. Thus the priestly opposition to Jesus—a handful at most—was transformed to include all Jews; the historical Jew became the symbolic and eternal Jew. Thus the Jewish Diaspora (although already in existence prior to Jesus's lifetime) became the punishment of God upon Israel; and the execution of

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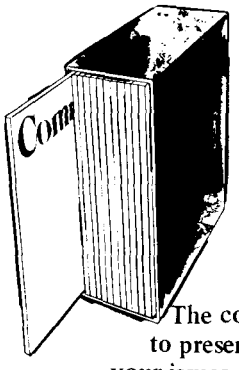

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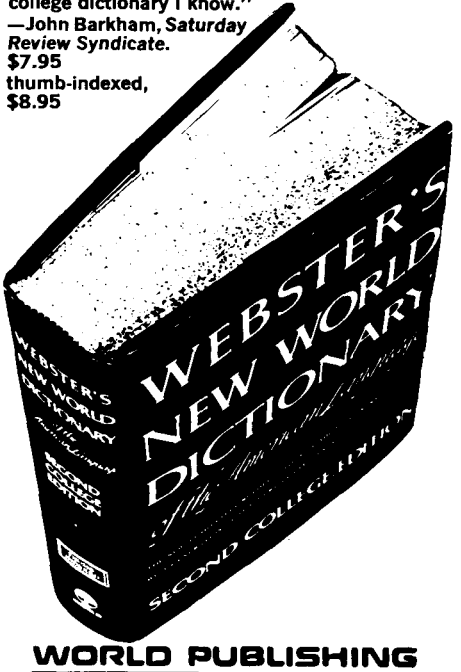

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Jesus by Pontius Pilate, a Jewish judicial murder and hence deicide. In effect, history became theology, and theology, indifferent to history (indeed, in its Augustinian and Lutheran formulations in opposition to history), affirmed according to its own canon, unmoored by fact, insouciant to historical method, cruelly insensitive to historical consequence.

ISAAC advances his argument through a series of twenty-one propositions which unfold with an almost primer-like simplicity but gather in force and intensity. "The Christian religion," the first proposition declares, "is the daughter of the Jewish religion. If only for this reason Judaism is deserving of respect." "Jesus, the Jesus of the Gospels . . . ," the second proposition asserts, "in his human lifetime was a Jew, a humble Jewish artisan. This is a fact of which no Christian has a right to be unaware." And so on, in a rising crescendo, to the concluding proposition:

> Whatever the sins of the people of Israel may be, they are innocent, totally innocent of the crimes of which Christian tradition accuses them; they did not reject Jesus, they did not crucify him. And Jesus did not reject Israel, did not curse it: just as "the gifts of God . . . are irrevocable" (Rom. 11:29), the evangelical law of love allows no exception. May Christians come to realize this at last—may they realize and redress their crying injustices. At this moment, when a curse seems to weigh upon the whole human race, it is the urgent duty to which they are called by the memory of Auschwitz.

Isaac develops the propositions in appropriate scholarly fashion: the comparison of Gospel sources; the evaluation of variants in the rendition of identical stories and episodes by the four evangelists; the interpretation of the eccentric St. John, the most anti-Jewish of the Gospel witnesses; the squaring of Gospel renderings with the historical situation of Judaism in the first century. Alongside the plausible historical meaning of the text he sets matching interpretive passages by biblical theologians—not always the best minds of the Church but those whose works form the basis of catechetical instruction, the missionary writers, the seminary theologians, the schoolmen. Invariably—and this includes such distinguished and/or popular writers as Karl Adam, Giovanni Papini, François Mauriac, Ernest Renan, Daniel-Rops, Joseph Bonsirven—their writings give evidence of the "teaching of contempt."

Isaac's research into the roots of anti-Semitism had already begun before his wife and daughter were deported to their deaths. The last message he received from his wife read: "Save yourself for your work. The world is waiting for it." The world, unfortunately, was not waiting, but its need was not therefore the less. Isaac, despite the distress of frequent moves to avoid capture, completed the manuscript shortly after the end of the war. The impact of *Jesus and Israel* on the French public was enormous and set in motion a series of important reconsiderations.

IN 1947, the year of the book's publication, Isaac met in Paris with an assortment of European Christian and Jewish intellectuals and presented his Eighteen Points—included in the Appendix to the present edition of *Jesus and Israel*—for the "rectification necessary in Christian teaching" regarding the Jews.* These were later incorporated, at an international conference of Christians and Jews, into the so-called Ten Points of Seeligsberg, which in turn led to the formation of L'Amitié Judéo-Chrétienne, an organization founded by Isaac in 1948 for the promotion of Christian-Jewish understanding. In 1949 he met with Pius XII, an encounter which resulted in the modification of

*A sample Point reads: "Christian teaching worthy of the name should acknowledge and state openly, taking inspiration from the most reliable historical research, that Christianity was born of a living, not a degenerate Judaism, as is proved by the richness of Jewish literature, Judaism's indomitable resistance to paganism, the spiritualization of worship in the synagogues, the spread of proselytism, the multiplicity of religious sects and trends, the broadening of beliefs. . . ."

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liturgical practice in the Good Friday devotion; and in 1960 he was received by Pius's successor, John XXIII, at which time he suggested the formation (in connection with the then forthcoming Vatican II Council) of a subcommission to study the Jewish question. The proposal was accepted and eventually resulted in the famous schema on the Jews.

For all that, *Jesus and Israel* had its critics, who noted that anti-Semitism was not the exclusive invention of Christianity. The pre-Christian pagan world, such critics argued, was no more kindly disposed to Jews than were Christians; and therefore the anti-Semitism of the Church must be regarded as no more than an extension of already elaborated motifs. This line of argument evoked from Isaac another important (and as yet untranslated) work, *Génése de l'Anti-Sémitisme* (1956). Pagan anti-Semitism, he conceded, was indeed a reality; none could deny the assaults of an Apion, a Seneca, a Tacitus, who reviled the Jews in terms no less obscene than those of Streicher or Drumont. Pagan anti-Semitism, however, he noted, was based upon a political and social animus, directed at a people considered separatist and unassimilable. Whether misunderstood (by Theophrastus, who called the Jews a "philosophical" people), or hated (by Apion, for instance, who called them "lepers" and "descendants of the miscreant Hyksos"), the Jews were regarded by the pagan world as militant outsiders. Christianity, however, added theology to historical xenophobia. No longer were the Jews scorned as merely a "poisonous leaven among the nations," but they were condemned as a people of deicides to be cursed, punished, driven into exile. This theme attained further expression in Isaac's Sorbonne lecture, *Has Anti Semitism Roots in Christianity?** and in his final work, composed a year before his death, *The Teaching of Contempt: Christian Roots of Anti-Semitism.*†

ISAAC's writings have served to shake up many a thoughtful Christian but they have scarcely been noticed by the Jewish community, most particularly in America. This is not to say that his work has been totally ignored, but rather that the heroic intellectual achievement of an assimilated French Jew, a convert of the spirit who never came to observe the *mitzvot,* has somehow left the Jewish scholarly and religious world indifferent. This is perhaps an understandable, though unfortunate, response; the temperament of American-Jewish scholarship is uncongenial to savants who cannot command Hebrew source materials, no matter how impressive their other credentials. Nonetheless, the findings of Isaac's researches, whatever their dependency on non-Jewish sources, are profoundly important. The sword of criticism which he honed cuts both ways. If Christians insist upon theologizing history, misreading, falsifying, subverting historical truth in the interest of theological hyperbole, Jewish religious thinking is no less culpable.

The modes of Jewish triumphalism, which bring together in a single theological whole the abasement of Auschwitz and the victory of Israel, to my mind reproduce a similar theological misrepresentation. We might all profit from pondering Isaac's insights. He was a humanist Jew who understood that because Jews had no choice but to live at peace with Christians, they had ultimately to persuade Christendom of its faults. He realized that theological enmity was the transcendental situation from which all historical understanding departs, but that a new humanism was the only way to reconciliation. For Isaac, Auschwitz was a cruel fact and the establishment of the State of Israel its life-affirming alternative. But neither could be treated as acts of God in contradistinction to their simple historicity. To do so would be simply to harden the ground for yet another theologically rationalized *auto-da-fé* of the Jewish people.

* Translated by Dorothy and James Parkes, National Conference of Christians and Jews, 95 pp., 50¢.

† Translated by Helen Weaver, Biographical Introduction by Claire Huchet Bishop, Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 154, pp. $4.00.

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Detective Story

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Reviewed by RICHARD SCHICKEL

NOT since W. S. Gilbert brought to jolly culmination the Victorian obsession with children who somehow mislay—or are mislaid by—their parents, has a writer been as successful with entertainments revolving around what might loosely be termed the Oedipal theme as Ross Macdonald. His last two novels have enjoyed front-page coverage in the New York *Times Book Review,* he has recently been the subject of a *Newsweek* cover story, and, most important of all, he has broken through the barrier that normally segregates the detective novelist from the rest of literature. His latest book, *The Underground Man,* like *The Goodbye Look* which immediately preceded it, appears on the best-seller chart along with such inveterately popular novelists as Irving Stone, Leon Uris, Ernest K. Gann, and Irwin Shaw, not to mention that phenomenon of our times, Erich Segal.

One does not really begrudge Ross Macdonald his recent success. He has been toiling since 1949 in a vineyard that yields, as a rule, little celebrity, no serious critical recognition, and not much more than a modest livelihood for most of its laborers. Moreover, the interviews that have attended and celebrated his emergence from anonymity as a genre writer reveal him to be a man of exemplary sobriety, modesty, literacy, and decent social concern, as well as a man on whom life foisted a basic, tragic (or near-tragic) theme which he has patiently explored through eighteen novels without recourse to sensationalism and with considerable craft.

On the other hand, I can't help but feel that Macdonald's reputation is at the moment in process of gross inflation. In that first front-page *Times* review William Goldman (himself a would-be popular novelist, sometime dabbler in the mystery genre, and the author of *Harper,* a good, lively screenplay based on a Macdonald novel) termed his work "the finest series of detective novels ever written by an American," conveniently ignoring two obvious betters (Dashiell Hammett and Raymond Chandler) and perhaps a half-dozen equals among his American contemporaries alone. Then we have Eudora Welty, no less, coming to praise *The Underground Man* in the same place, and insisting that "no one but a good writer—*this* good writer—could have possibly brought it off." Whereupon a burbling of blurbs begins to deafen: "exhilaratingly well done . . . very moving . . . Mr. Macdonald's writing is something like a stand of clean, cool, well-branched, well-tended trees in which bright birds can flash and perch. And not for show, but to sing." *Newsweek*'s man contents himself with the notation that in this book Macdonald "reached a peak in his art and what looks like a breakthrough into the charmed circle of detective novelists who have been accepted as literary artists."

To all this one must enter at least a modest demurrer on literary grounds alone, although the more interesting question is why the literary community seems to have nominated Macdonald for the single (and since Raymond Chandler died, unoccupied) chair reserved for a mystery writer and located just a bit below the salt at its high table.

The Underground Man will do very nicely for analysis, for it is not really a breakthrough book commercially (*The Goodbye Look,* written in 1969, accomplished that task) or artistically (*The Chill,* 1964, is better, and Macdonald himself says that *The Galton Case* in 1959 was the beginning of a new maturity for him as a writer). Rather, it seems to me altogether typical of Macdonald's pleasant, entertaining average. It begins with his detective-narrator Lew Archer encountering a small boy in the backyard of his apartment building. Together they feed some birds. A little later the lad's inexplicably aggressive father takes him away to "Santa Teresa" (which is actually Santa Barbara, where Macdonald himself lives) ostensibly to visit his grandmother. Shortly thereafter the father is murdered and the boy kidnapped; a cigarillo the victim was holding at the moment of death ignites a forest fire which, *Newsweek* says, "rages like a moral plague" through the book, but which, in fact, burns pretty much like your average California canyon fire (although Macdonald, a dedicated conservationist, set out quite consciously to make this "ecological crime" the basic gimmick of the novel, it hardly qualifies as a very weighty symbol).

It turns out that the murdered man had devoted most of his life—as so many of Macdonald's characters seem to do—to searching for his missing father and that it was the long-drawn-out anguish of that search that made him so edgy in Archer's one earlier encounter with him. Moreover, we find out that he was murdered because he was about to discover at last what happened to dad, namely, that he had not simply run off, but had been murdered fifteen years previously. His son, in turn, is kidnapped by a pair of adolescents, one of whom had actually witnessed the first murder, and both of whose elders were closely implicated in that earlier case. Before the present puzzle is unraveled Archer—and the reader—encounters once again a cast of characters which has remained almost unchanging from one Macdonald novel to the next. In this particular instance there are no less than three of the slightly dotty old and middle-aged ladies Macdonald is particularly drawn to, all of whom have reached this condition as a result of devoting too much of their lives to guarding the unhealthy secrets of the past. In addition, we have, as usual, a bland pillar of the middle class (this time he's a realtor, though usually he's a doctor or lawyer) whose seemingly imperturbable surface Archer finally cracks; a young woman driven close to madness by the sudden surfacing of bloody fragments of memory; a lower-class criminal drifter whose function here, as in other Macdonald works, is to galvanize the more important characters.

Although this stock company is a bit worn from overuse, it's not a

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bad one, since it has the advantage of conveniently—if repetitively—allowing Macdonald to develop his basic vision, which is that our personal lives, in this country, are thin and underdeveloped and therefore unable to withstand violent historical shocks. His older people, even those who appear to be well-established in their communities, invent and then live lies in order to cover their traumatic hurts, but these lies, often maintained over decades, narrow and twist their personalities until, when Archer comes on the scene, they have become grotesque parodies of human nature. In contrast, the youngsters, desperate for historical life-lines to cling to on our present stormy seas, are both pathetic in their need and disturbing—to the point where murder will out—in the effect they have on their elders.

It should be noted that Macdonald comes by his obsession with the Oedipal theme quite naturally. He is the son of an itinerant Canadian journalist who separated from Macdonald's mother (a partial invalid) when the writer was a child, and he calculates that he grew up rootless in some fifty different homes as he and his poverty-stricken mother were passed from relative to relative during the Depression. Moreover, he began using the missing-father theme in his mysteries long before the youth cult and the agony of "growing up absurd" much interested the literary community.

Yet that does not necessarily mean that he is a very good writer. Macdonald, whose real name is Kenneth Millar, has paid gracious tribute to Raymond Chandler, the writer whose work his own most resembles. But despite a considerable body of opinion holding that he has surpassed his master, I think it not so. Macdonald, for example, speaks of trying to preserve "the fantastic lights and shadows of the actual Los Angeles" while "siphoning off" the romantic aura with which Chandler had invested the city, the better to make room for "a more complete social realism." He has, indeed, drained the place of romance—no very difficult task considering the city's thirty or forty years of bad press—but at great cost in that specificity of detail on which social realism depends. A writer must, I think, romanticize a place somewhat in order to communicate the power of climate, geography, and design to shape people and events, and to give some notion of the way personality and place interpenetrate, but we get almost nothing of this in the Lew Archer books.

It is precisely this failure to evoke a milieu, and the related failure to develop a wide range of memorable characters to populate it, that represents Macdonald's great defect as a novelist. I've already mentioned the fact that his cast remains remarkably similar from book to book, with only the names, sketchy physical descriptions, and occupations varying while the psychological typology remains constant. What is more curious is his obsession with the upper-middle class and the rich. It is nearly always to their enclaves, many of them well outside Los Angeles, that Lew Archer is called to duty.

There are other defects in Macdonald's work as well. Lew Archer is, by his creator's own admission, "paper-thin," a mere device who "makes it possible for me to dredge up material I wouldn't be able to dredge up writing in my own person." That's a refreshingly honest statement, but it doesn't make Archer a rich character like Chandler's Philip Marlowe, about whom we came to know quite a bit over the years and whose marvelous, wisecracking style—cynicism partially masking idealism—was one of the great delights of modern detective fiction. It could be argued, I suppose, that Archer in his grayness is more "realistic" than Marlowe, but that doesn't compensate for his lack of humor and depth. As for the writing itself, Macdonald relies excessively on a single stylistic device, the strained simile ("The fire bent around it like the fingers of a hand . . .") and, for the rest, his prose rhythms are rather monotonous. Miss Welty suggests that his narrative style is "built for action and speed," and though one must concede the latter, there is really not much action of a physical sort in Macdonald's work. Indeed one misses the tension present in other private-eye fictions which is generated by the sense that some nameless force may strike violently, absurdly, out of darkness, at the investigator.

BUT there is little point in belaboring these flaws. However sympathetic we are to Macdonald, who is manifestly a nice guy and, within his limits, a devoted craftsman, it is clear that we are not dealing with a writer who really transcends the boundaries of his genre. In effect, he has throughout his career, whether consciously or not, offered a succession of false clues to his real identity. Except recently, perhaps as an afterthought to the fame that has been thrust upon him, he has not seemed to aspire to being a novelist in the full sense of the word. Rather, he is something of a detective-story classicist, his work meeting the basic criteria W. H. Auden has sensibly defined for this fictional mode in that it deals with a closed, and closely related, society which excludes the possibility of an outsider committing the crime and insists that each person present might potentially be the criminal. It must also at least appear to be an innocent society existing in what seems to be a state of grace, which means that the detective is a rather god-like intruder whose sole function is to punish the transgressor, whoever he may be, restore the group to innocence, and then retire from the scene.

The effect of Macdonald's fictions, then, is precisely the opposite of Chandler's, and the satisfaction they give us is precisely the satisfaction we obtain from the more obviously stylized whodunits of Agatha Christie, Rex Stout, Ellery Queen, and the other masters of the purely ratiocinative school. Whatever else work within limits of this sort may be, however enthusiastically addicted to it we may become, it is not art—it is fantasy.

Since it is obviously not difficult for literate people to tell the difference between a highly stylized generic form and a true novel, it is useful to inquire into the reasons for the confusion which has grown up around Macdonald's work. There is, to begin

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with, a very strong desire among professional practitioners and critics of the mystery to insist that good writing is good writing no matter where you find it and thus to break what they insist are the false walls that separate the detective, spy, and adventure categories from the rest of literature. And who can deny that many writers in these categories (one thinks of Geoffrey Household, Eric Ambler, John Le Carré, to name just three easy names) are indeed superior as writers of good, strong narratives to many a more seriously studied modern novelist? But more important in understanding the particular case of Macdonald is what might be termed a confusion of innocences. There is the sort of which Auden speaks, that state it has ever been the business of the detective symbolically to reconstitute through effort of reason. And then there is the innocence many readers presume abides in young people and from which a cruel world forcibly separates them. About this latter innocence Macdonald has lately taken to talking more directly. Thus, speaking of the adolescent kidnappers in *The Underground Man*, Lew Archer notes: "They seem to have thought they were rescuing Ronny from the adult world. To a certain extent it was true." And again, examining the motives of one of them, he says: "He belonged to a generation whose elders had been poisoned, like the pelicans, with a kind of moral DDT that damaged the lives of their young."

But such expressions of sentiment, fashionable as they may be, do not constitute the heart of Macdonald's current appeal. Long before he expressed this point of view so openly, it was clear that in his little world some suspects are less equal than others, that young people, no matter how suspiciously, erratically, or irresponsibly they behave, never turn out to be guilty of any very serious crime. They are always the victims, and, indeed, it generally develops that it is the sins of the fathers that are being visited on them, even unto the second and third generation. Which is merely a way of saying that they are the victims of historical forces gone awry, if not totally out of control. And that, of course, is a feeling by no means confined to the young. I suppose all of us, at one time or another, have toyed with the notion that we are imprisoned in historical chains that are not of our own devising, just as we are constricted by the play of larger historical forces (the cold war, etc.) over which we have no control. It is, in fact, one of those comforting half-truths that help to make life a little more bearable. It is also the most common of our contemporary justifications for avoiding responsibility for our actions. It may be too that we entertain the hope that a magical figure like Lew Archer will someday pass through our lives and relieve us of the constraints that limit us.

Be that as it may—and the entire subject is certainly too large to be gone into here—all I really want to suggest is that Macdonald's present eminence does not depend on the literary quality of his work, but on the fact that he is our only writer of generation-gap mysteries at a moment when that gap is much on everyone's mind. The coming together of a writer's understandable personal obsession with a society's less understandable concern about the guilty silence that seems to exist today between father and sons is nothing more than an interesting coincidence. But I think it careless to mistake this coincidence—interesting though it may be—for evidence of high moral purpose or remarkable artistic achievement on the part of that writer. At best, Macdonald is a writer of severely limited capabilities and a rather weak inheritor of the tradition of what Edmund Wilson once called "the boys in the back room." He is, moreover, an entertainer who has wiped the grin off his face and is thus able to confront the historical moment with that measure of decorum the middlebrow public deems suitable to its seriousness. Wise guys, it seems, need no longer apply for membership on the best-seller list and that's too bad, for the possibility exists that the generation gap, like many of the other "great issues" of the day, may just be closer to farce than it is to tragedy.

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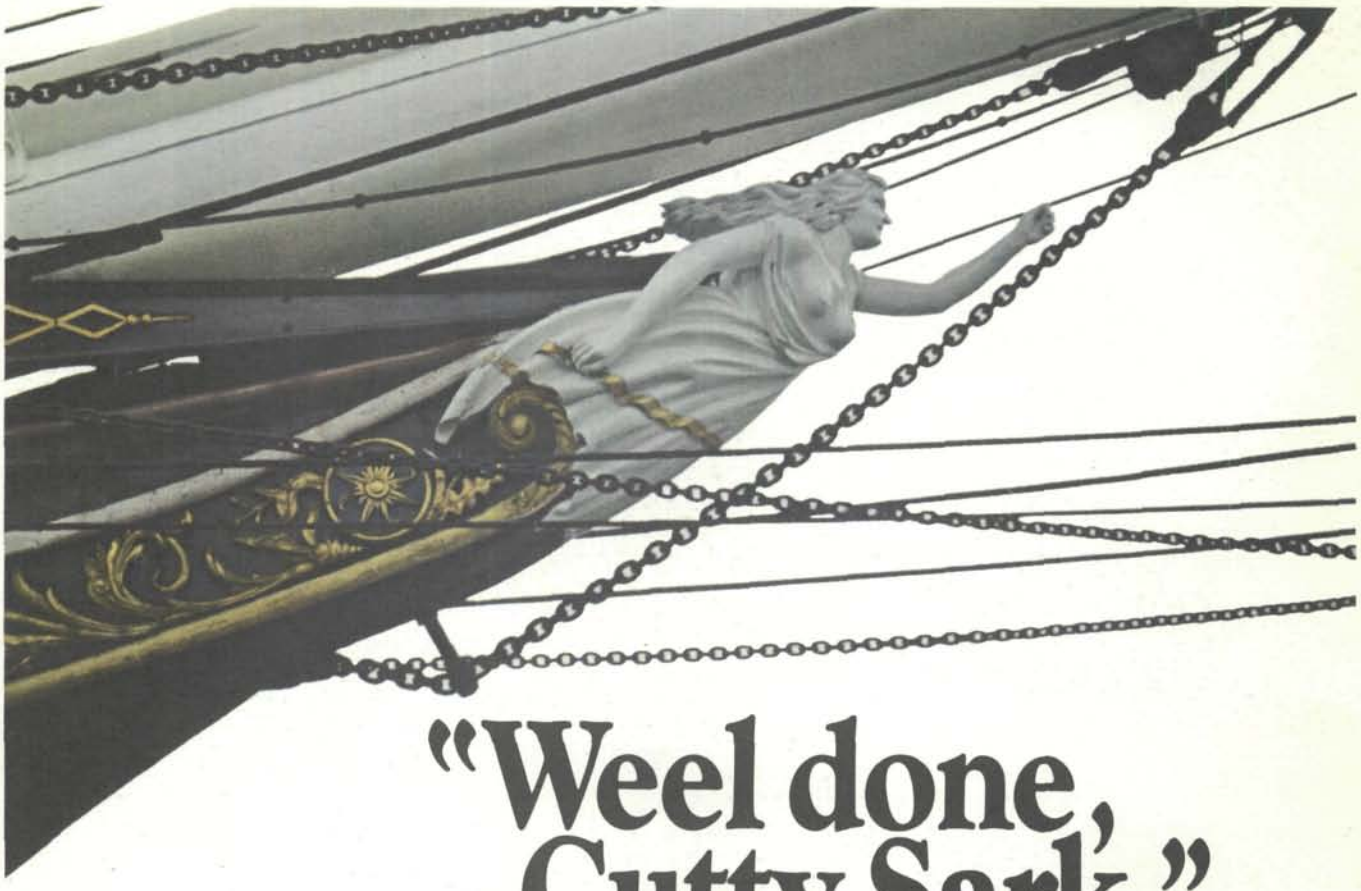

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